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ABSTRACT

The relationship of social work practice and education to minority groups is discussed in six symposium papers. The first paper, by Armado Morales, discusses acts of commission and omission by the mental health delivery systems that reflect racism and oppressive attitudes toward Mexican Americans. The relevance and applicability of present approaches are questioned. The paper by E. Daniel Edwards and Margie E. Edwards describes the culture, lifestyle and values of American Indians. It provides historical accounts of American Indian policies and the effects of such policies on the American Indian; approaches to the historical understanding of the American Indian and how this could enhance social work practice are also discussed. Another paper, by Wilhemina Perry and Antonia Pantoja, points out that efforts to create social reform must inevitably include the review of theoretical paradigms. The black family and black culture are described as adaptations to the social circumstances surrounding them in the paper by Leon W. Chestang that analyzed black culture as a coping strategy. Miguel Montiel's paper reveiws the predominant theoretical trends of research in ethnic communities of color in recent years and speculates on its possible consequences, reviews various alternative research strategies that have challenged the view of minorities as "outsiders," and attempts to develop an appropriate role for research. The last paper, by Barbara Solomon, suggests two concepts that can serve as a basis for an overall theory of social work practice that is inclusive of all minorities. (SPG)

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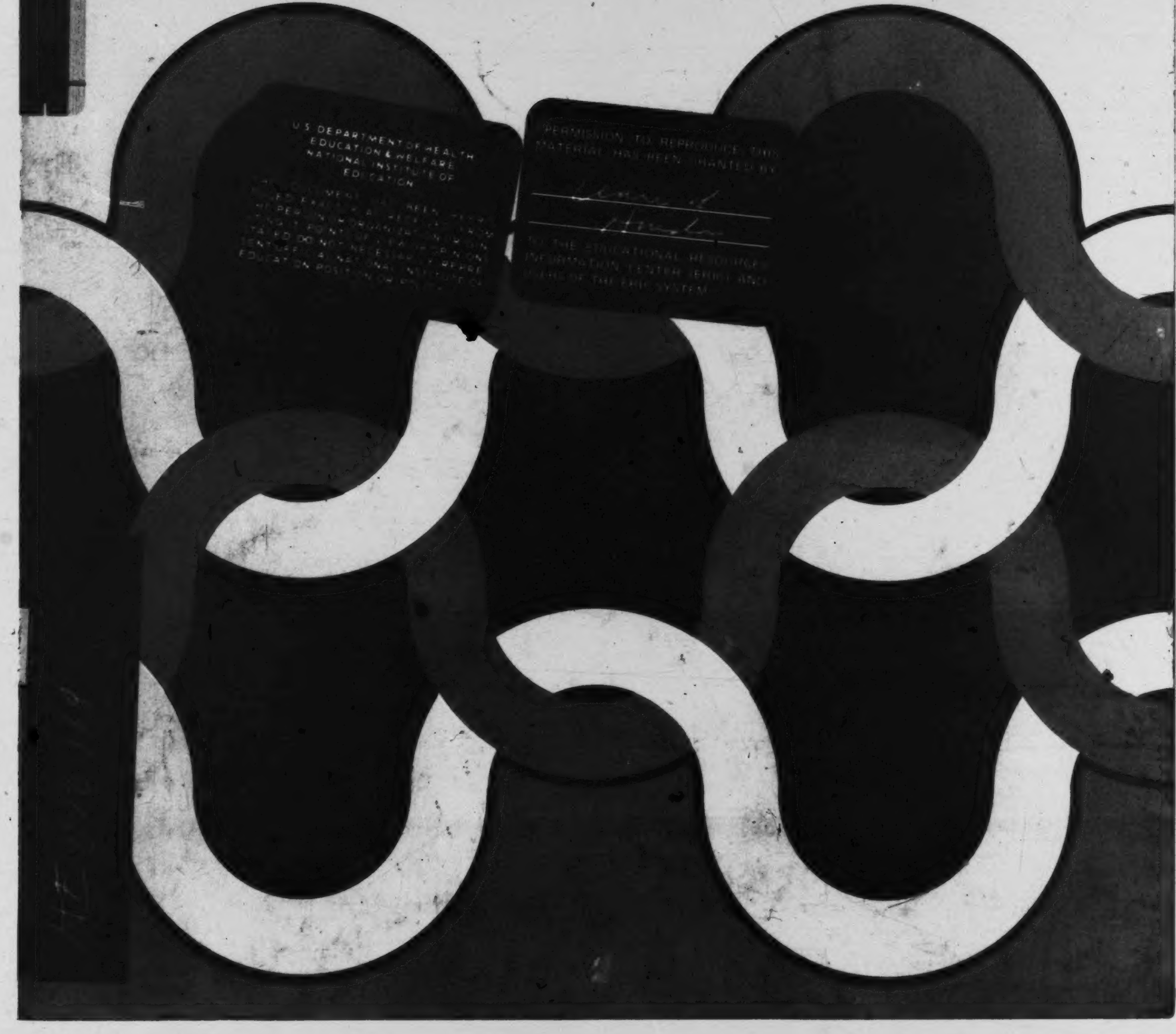
Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Social Work Practice and Education

Edited by Marta Sotomayor, D.S.W.

Graduate School of Social Work
University of Houston



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CROSS CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE AND EDUCATION

Six Symposia

Edited by

MARTA SOTOMAYOR

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
1976

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword v

Gary A. Lloyd

Introduction vi

Marta Sotomayor

The Mexican American and Mental Health Issues 2

Armando Morales

Commentary: Luciano Santa Cruz 21

American Indians: History and Culture, Federal Policies, and Implications for Social Work Practice 24

E. Daniel Edwards
Margie E. Edwards

Commentary: Florence Clemenger 71

Marta Sotomayor 74

Social Work in a Culturally Pluralistic Society: An Alternative Paradigm 79

Wilhemina Perry
Antonia Pantoja

Commentary: Gerson David 95

The Black Family and Black Culture: A Study in Coping 98

Leon W. Chestang

Commentary: Jacquelyn A. Alford 117

George Greenberg 122

Research Perspectives in Ethnic Communities of Color 130

Miguel Montiel

Commentary: Clyde McDaniel 155

Pallassana Balgopal 161

Social Work in a Multiethnic Society 165

Barbara Solomon

FOREWARD

In the last half of the seventh decade of this century, and at the beginning of the nation's third century it is fitting that social work educators and practitioners evaluate all aspects of our professional endeavor. In the bicentennial year, it is particularly appropriate that we examine closely what we know about the import of cultural factors in the lives of people living and working in a pluralistic society.

The papers presented in this volume exemplify an intellectual and philosophical commitment of many social workers to incorporating cross-cultural perspectives into their practice and teaching, and to using their professional skills, knowledge and keen moral sense to work consistently for a more just society.

To a marked degree--given the fervor of "war on poverty" declared just over a decade ago--the issues and ideas, the dilemmas and uncertainties discussed by the authors here are out of fashion. Even though administrators, practitioners and educators in many fields obey affirmative action policies and laws, comparative cultural studies and discourses on "minority content" which characterized the 1960's have diminished drastically. Although the topics may be unfashionable, cultural differences, discrimination, and racism remain realities which social workers cannot ignore without losing the liveliness of their practice and teaching.

The Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Houston chose to mark the bicentennial year by offering to the practice and university communities a series of symposia which would support efforts to permeate cross-cultural perspectives throughout the School's curriculum, and to inform practicing social workers of new research findings or fresh perspectives on the lives and experiences of minorities. The Symposia attracted large attendance, and stimulated prolonged, productive and at times very heated discussion.

I am pleased to make these papers available to our colleagues in the profession. Many faculty members participated in the symposium and I wish to thank those whose observations are included in this volume. I am indebted to Dr. Marta Sotomayor who was instrumental in organizing the symposium, and served as editor of these papers.

I share with the authors, and the faculty members of this School the hope that these papers will be of particular use to all social workers who believe both that questions of poverty, discrimination and racism never go out of fashion, and that a social work curriculum which does not address the questions and concerns raised here will offer inadequate education for future practitioners.

Gary Lloyd, Dean
December, 1976

INTRODUCTION

Marta Sotomayor*

The 1976 Bicentennial Celebration brings with it a growing awareness of the role that human services have played in the development of this country, particularly in the support of human capital so crucial for the general welfare of the country. The economic, health, social and psychological needs of the majority of the citizenry have been responded to with a wide range of programs. The 1976 Bicentennial Celebration also highlights the fact that for specific groups of people the opportunities for "life chances", an integral part of the quality of life, continue to be limited. Majority-minority politics continue to revolve around the actual inequalities that exist between these two groups in income, jobs, housing, health, education and access to the main avenues of opportunity. Thus, the problem of inequality must be continued to be posed in terms of differences in the "life chances" between the majority and minority populations in this country.

Social Work education traditionally has played a leadership role in the promotion of the changes required to better the existence of groups of different class, linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds, although, strategies for change have often been circumvented and sometimes unclear. To ensure the effectiveness of our profession's goals and objectives efforts must be made to clarify the "change" strategies, refine some, and discard others as well as to consciously and systematically develop means to promote the preservation of those aspects of human existence that provide a frame of reference to certain groups of people in this society. For minorities of color "our" own frame of reference grows to such an importance that it often assumes proportions of survival as more often than not culture, language, and ethnicity become obliterated in the process of racism and all of its manifestations.

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Racism is recognized as a leading national problem in the United States. The 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation precipitated a "crisis" in race relations affecting initially the Black in the South, and later expanding nationwide to include Chicanos and Asians in the Southwest, Puerto Ricans in the East, and Native Americans in various key points throughout the country.

As racism became recognized primarily as a political phenomena with denial of economic advancement and cultural pluralism, minorities of color organized around ethnic, cultural, and nationalistic movements with specific and clear goals for cultural, social, political, and economic reform. Raising issues related to cultural pluralism in itself reflected trends of reform in a country that was becoming entrenched in the ideology of cultural assimilation.

Historically, most immigrants of this country had accepted integration into a political framework different from that found in their homeland, therefore, cultural pluralism had not been an issue in the past. On the other hand, certain ethnic, cultural, and religious territorial minorities, i.e. Native Americans and Chicanos, were committed to linguistic and cultural pluralism and separate rights deriving from prior indigenous claims to territory, status, and cultural autonomy[1]. Efforts to challenge the homogeneity of a national state had not been effective, thus, the preservation and recognition of cultural identity by the larger society had not become a political or economic issue.

Devastating poverty in a land of plenty had been a long standing issue with minorities of color. Poverty became a national issue, and later a national policy reflected in the enactment of the "War on Poverty" which was sold as the government's acceptance of its obligation to guarantee the basic rights of modern citizenship, to include equal economic opportunity, to all. The minorities of color, unfortunately, were led to believe that this national strategy had potential to create the desired and necessary political and economic changes; the results of the frustrated expectations are well known to all of us.

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[1] Henry J. Tobias and Charles E. Woodhouse, Minorities and Politics (The University of Mexico Press, 1969), p. 3.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the "War on Poverty" era was the mobilization of partisan interests that took sides for one or another solution with the hope of improving conditions faced by groups of people who had not been allowed to participate in the course of economic advancement and all of its accompanying benefits. The minorities of color became actively involved in politics when their class interests became an object of governmental concern.[2] These groups openly began to question the structure of power and to challenge the status which maintained their subordination; self-determination became a rallying point.

Social work education has become one more arena, a microcosm, where equal participation and equal sharing of resources is sought. Minoritiy of color social work educators initiated strategies so that the Council on Social Work Education could apply its influence and encourage changes in schools of Social Work across the country. In 1968, the CSWE responded to the concerns expressed to it by the various minorities of color to include Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asians and Puerto Ricans by providing differential statistics by ethnic group on all aspects of social work education as the basis to point out to schools that they must select and admit applicants without discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin. In the same year, CSWE established a new Accreditation Standard that required schools to give evidence of special effort made to assure cultural diversity in their student body, faculty, staff, and curriculum content.

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[2] Ibid, p.5.

The Graduate School of Social Work, University of Houston, presents this publication as one of several attempts to bring to fore issues and problems encountered as one begins to re-build the foundations for a multi-cultural society; the expectations are that these issues will provide the framework for further changes in curriculum content dealing with the minorities of color. The Symposia was an additional effort to engage the social work community specifically, and the community at large in general, in a continuing dialogue regarding these important issues.

The papers presented here deal with a variety of topics. The first paper discusses acts of commission and omission by the mental health delivery systems that reflect racist and oppressive attitudes. Its author questions the relevance and applicability of present approaches to meet the needs of a group that is culturally and linguistically different and native to the southwest. The Native Americans have been bombarded with a number of governmental policies that clearly illustrate the process and politics of oppression. The paper dealing with this ethnic group is rich in the description of the multitude of policies developed to obliterate them.

Another paper points out that efforts to create social reform must inevitably include the review of theoretical paradigms, for "knowledge", as a reflector of tradition, is indeed based on ideological positions popular at specific times in history. Fundamental change can only take place as one replaces outdated paradigms and formulates conceptual tools to understand different realities. The family has been traditionally accepted as the basic unit of most societies. For minorities of color, subjected to centuries of oppression, the family provided the main source of comfort and support--for many it became the one and only institution for survival. Most powerful of stereotypes, typical of the dynamics of oppression, have been used to attack the families of Black and other minorities of color. The record needs to be set straight--the fabrication and propogation of myths must be re-examined. The author of this paper and its discussants add to the on-going dialogue on the subject.

Positivistic thought engulfs almost every aspect of modern Western culture. Issues of reality, we are told, must be translated irrevocably into empirical questions. Most research conceptualizations, approaches, and interpretations indeed reflect a positivistic ideology; but, what is most devastating is the realization that this position seems to determine every direction, boundary and domain in the pursuit of knowledge, truth, and reality. The experiences of peoples of color are couched by different approaches in the pursuit of knowledge and truth based upon milenium old histories. For the Nahuatl Indian, for example, from whom many Chicanos descend, it was through Flor y Canto (Poetry and Song) and the exemplary life of the warrior that symbolized life's struggle and uncertain answers; for some North American Indians it was through the understanding and the transmission of myths and ritual. While we cannot realistically recapture, live in the past, and/or use such approaches in the modern world, as a matter of intellectual honesty we must explore and critically evaluate issues that can impact upon our conceptual frameworks and the methods used in the pursuit of knowledge.

The last paper included in this publication succeeds in pointing out the enormity of the task ahead if indeed we are serious in promoting changes in our profession. Members of our faculty provide provocative responses to the various presentations, in some instances other positions are offered--some clarify or challenge the ideas presented. But, what is most important is that the commentators raise additional issues that need, and must, be discussed.

The dialogue has barely began...

Houston, Texas
Fall of 1976

SIX SYMPOSIA

12

THE MEXICAN AMERICAN AND MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

Armando Morales, D.S.W.*

The title of this paper implies that the social work profession today is not adequately meeting the unique psycho-social needs of the Mexican American community which now numbers over twelve million persons in the greater Southwest. That social workers do not meet Mexican American psycho-social needs is not a new observation. During the Great Depression, for example, there was an urgent need to provide more jobs for the unemployed and some felt it was desirable to identify and eliminate "expendable" labor forces. The surveys of the 1927 California Conference of Social Work helped define the Mexican not only as expendable, but also as an undesirable labor group. These surveys provided a rationale and helped to establish social policy that led to the mass deportation to Mexico of several hundred thousand Mexicans, many being American born U.S. Citizens. Children were shipped to Mexico along with their parents regardless of legal status. A variety of methods such as persuasion, coaxing and unauthorized coercion, were used by agencies to rid themselves of Mexicans. Relief payments and welfare services were withheld or denied.

Social workers' views about education and intelligence had a negative impact on Mexican Americans. In 1934, for example, Emory Bogardus, a prolofic writer and then Dean of the USC School of Social Work believed that on the whole Mexican children fell below "American" children in intelligence. He advocated segregated schools so that Mexican children would not develop feelings of inferiority. These prevailing racist attitudes strongly influenced both the quantity and quality of educational services to Mexican American children.

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In California between the years of 1850 and 1930, it was not uncommon for the Mexican American child and his family to be invariably discriminated against by key social services established to alleviate both social and economic distress. This was done either by total exclusion, (as in the case of private social services), by regulations which limited access to services, or by inequitable distribution of resources and outdoor relief.[1] Although many documented examples pertain mainly to California, there is no doubt that during this period Mexican Americans experienced similar conditions in other states of the Southwest.

Today, discrimination against the Mexican American with regard to education, welfare, social, and health services is not as overtly blatant as it once was but nevertheless it is still present and might even be more powerful in its impact. Discrimination has assumed more subtle forms, such as the State taxing the poor more for education as compared to the affluent or by appropriating two to three times more funds for the education of the affluent child as compared to the poor child. A legal class action suit known as the "Serrano Decision," filed by the Western Center on Law and Poverty in Los Angeles, is currently challenging this type of discriminatory practice in the courts. This court decision is setting legal precedent for other states where the same dynamic is found.

Another example of current discrimination against Mexican Americans more within the purvue of our profession is the subtle exclusion of Mexican Americans from policy-making mental health boards on the local, county and state level. This affects the quantity, quality and nature of mental health services. The continuing and the few services that are in the barrio generally lack bilingual, bicultural mental health personnel. Social work has gradually begun to meet the bilingual-bicultural mental health personnel needs of the barrio within the last four years at least significantly more than psychiatry and psychology.

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of the Mexican deportations, educational and social and economic dependence issues related to Mexican Americans during this period, see "Mexican American Children and California's Child Welfare System, 1850-1930," by Carlos Madrid and Yolanda Sethi, Monograph #3, Faculty Development--Minority Content in Mental Health, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Boulder, Colorado, November, 1974.

This last positive note might lead social workers to believe that their practice is adequate in Mexican American communities. There has been some improvement but there remain important psycho-social needs in the Mexican American community which social work practice has not adequately addressed. To be more specific, there are unmet Mexican American psycho-social needs with regard to 1) gangs; 2) police-community relations; 3) urban disorder; 4) immigration and illegal alien problems; 5) jails: 6) corporal punishment in the schools; and 7) the dramatic increase in Mexican American suicide. These are only a few examples, but any one of these areas would warrant at least a full semester of study to provide social workers with sufficient practice theory and practice knowledge to be effective in the barrio where these problems abound. Due to time constraints only the first three problem areas will be briefly discussed.

Gangs in the Barrio

The "gang" label has a negative connotation and has been applied by middle-class sociologists to what they consider to be a uniquely lower class phenomenon. Rarely in sociological literature are middle-class adolescent groups referred to as gangs irrespective of their similarity to their lower economic class counterparts. Such groups are more commonly referred to as peer groups, cliques or clubs. For the purposes of this paper, therefore, a gang will be defined as a peer-group of adolescents in a lower, middle or upper class community who participate in activities that are significantly harmful to themselves and/or others in the community.

There are numerous Mexican American adolescent groups in all barrios in the southwest. Additionally, one will find evidence of gangs in some barrios.

Currently in Los Angeles, for example, gang violence against the community as well as among gangs is expanding. There has been an increase in youth killings of which at least half are attributed to inter-gang violence. It is generally agreed that gangs in poor communities are a symptom of political, social, educational and economic oppression. Primarily for this reason, one finds that gangs have existed in barrios for the last fifty to sixty years.

Society has developed different approaches in dealing with gangs related more often than not to the economic and political climate rather than the needs of the gang and barrio. The interventive approaches may have varied effects upon the gang, but most of these approaches are short-term remedial measures which may be of some limited social-recreational value to the gang or the agency attempting to destroy the gang. There are at least eight interventive approaches which are applied in attempts to solve the gang problem. They are as follows:

1. The Social-Recreational Approach:

This traditional approach views gang members as being unhappy adolescents who lack social and recreational outlets. Attempts are made by social-recreational agency representatives to give the gang a positive group identity as the result of the members' hard work in planning and having dances as well as other social-recreational activities. Through various fund-raising efforts, the membership eventually is able to purchase lettered jackets for themselves. This approach simply utilizes group processes to transform group values and behaviors to more acceptable ones.

From another perspective, there is a theory that gang group cohesiveness and delinquency are related and that factors increasing gang cohesiveness, of which emphasis on group programming is one, will lead to increased gang recruitment and delinquency. This conclusion suggests that the detached worker approach should be severely modified or abandoned.[2]

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[2] Malcolm W. Klein, Street Gangs and Street Workers (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971).

Both of these approaches are superficial in that they do not deal with the basic causes of gang formation. As soon as one rides the current wave and calms the symptom, another wave comprised of younger brothers is on the horizon.

2. Competitive Sports:

Some people believe that the underlying force in the gang is aggression.[3] It would seem logical, therefore, to channel the aggression into more positive outlets such as boxing. Some gang youth prefer boxing over what they consider to be less masculine team sports such as baseball and football. The drawback of this approach is the same as with the previous one. That is, it only deals temporarily with the symptom. This approach also communicates to the youngster that this is all he will ever be good for: beat someone or be beaten.

3. The Law Enforcement Approach:

This approach has as its theoretical basis the good vs. evil assumption. The gang is seen as evil and hence something to be destroyed. The gang will be harassed and intimidated by police, the intent being to discourage gang members from associating. They will be frequently arrested for even minor offenses until there are sufficient arrests to warrant institutionalization. A special effort is usually made by police, parole, and probation officers, to rid the gang of its "leader." The rationale here is that if one takes away the leader of the gang the gang in its confusion will dissolve. These tactics are rarely, if ever, successful and even could be considered counterproductive as the youngster's path toward criminalization can be accelerated.

4. Institutionalization:

Barrio gang participants are frequently placed in juvenile detention facilities for their gang related violations. This delinquent behavior usually involves "joy-riding," curfew violations, drinking, drug usage, misdemeanor and felony assault offenses. Chicano gang youth respond very well to the culture of the institution as pointed out by a study revealing that chicanos held the highest positions of authority in various probation camps. These youngsters were experts at group process and soon were running the institution. Significantly, following graduation from the institution, most gang members (75%) became recidivists within three months after discharge. There was rarely any carry-over of what they had learned in camp, and secondly, they returned to the previous oppressive conditions which were a major cause of their initial arrests.[4]

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[3] Jerome Singer, The Control of Aggression and Violence (New York: Academic Press, 1971).

5. Street Workers:

A typical "Street Worker" attempts to develop close, trusting relationships with gang members and as a friend he/she redirects individual gang members toward socially constructive goals. Various community resources are utilized as support systems. Individuals are helped to get a job or return to school. The Street Worker becomes an advocate within certain limits and helps members adjust to, rather than change, their environment. This approach is similar in its limitations to the others in that primary intervention into core causes of the problem is rarely, if ever, addressed.

6. The Community Organization Approach:

A pamphlet published by the Los Angeles County Department of Community Services recommends that community organization efforts should be made to attack basic problems (educational, economic and cultural) which are the underlying reasons for development of gangs.[5] However, no additional community organization approach strategies are offered. No mention is made as to how this is to be done or as to who will do it. It would appear naive to believe that a government agency would attack those basic problems in a fashion which might threaten or endanger the status quo. Perhaps this is the reason that the gang, as a symptom, continues to exist in the barrio.

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[4] Armando Morales, "A Study of Recidivism of Mexican American Junior Forestry Camp Graduates," Master's Thesis, U.S.C. School of Social Work, June, 1963.

[5] "A Program to Combat Gang Problems in Los Angeles County," Los Angeles County Department of Community Services, November, 1972, p.5.

7. The Clinical Approach:

Alas, the clinical approach, the approach that most social workers feel comfortable with! Within this framework, the individual is seen as being a member of the gang primarily because of psychological problems. The delinquent gang behavior is perceived as well as a reaction to a combination of physiological, social and psychological stressors. A typical case might involve "acting out" on the youngster's part defined as a result of an inconsistent home environment and/or anger at father for his strictness.

In this framework, there might be elements of an unresolved Oedipal situation and consequently, the youngster joins the gang to ward-off feelings of anxiety. Punishment for the delinquent behavior or affection is unconsciously sought from father figures such as the police. Armed with this dynamic formulation and a diagnosis of "adjustment reaction to adolescence manifested by gang delinquent behavior," the therapist then proceeds to help the gang member and his family understand the psychological dynamics of their behavior. Through such understanding the gang member is supposed to abandon the gang and delinquent behavior, return to his family, and live happily ever-after.

The clinical approach has also its limitations as it ignores the basic causes of the gang. It assumes psychological disturbance in all of the gang members however, this is not to say that a few gang members might require psychotherapy. But, are social work practitioners clearly able to determine which gang members and their families require treatment versus those that do not? Is the adjudication of a petition by the juvenile court and subsequent referral to a treatment agency the main criteria for treatment? What interventive approaches, if any, are social workers currently adopting in their work with gangs in the barrio?

8. The Psycho-Social-Political Approach:

The author of this paper was taught the clinical approach in social work school as the means to deal with gang members and discovered as well that by-and-large it is ineffective. Over the years the gang members themselves have provided the author additional knowledge. Gangs are extremely cohesive units and members have a dedication to each other that often surpasses the commitments to their families. They will actually die for one another. Such powerful cohesion can be very positive if, with the approval of the gang, it can be directed toward efforts that will improve the barrio. This may be called the psycho-socio-political approach.

In this approach, the gang must be politicized. They should be helped to develop an even greater pride in themselves that extends beyond their cherished little turf. Gang members have to learn about the different ways in which they and their barrio are exploited and oppressed. Initially, social and mental health agencies could hire older gang members who would be politicized by the intellectuals and political activists of the barrio. These respected, veteran gang members in turn would go to the gangs in the barrio and work with the membership regarding their goals, objectives and programs. For example, gang members gradually would become aware of the absence of barrio representatives on various boards of agencies which are supposed to serve them. Through political pressure, they would eventually assume positions of decision making in various agencies and thus have a direct hand in improving their community.

There is precedent for this approach. In the Woodlawn area of Chicago in the late 1960's, the Blackstone Rangers, a Black gang numbering 1800 members, was responsible for a 25% reduction in crime in their community. They prevented riots in their area. They were courted by political forces, organized businesses and obtained grants. They signed treaties with other gangs. These things happened in the face of an unremitting policy of harassment by a task force of the Chicago Police Department.[6]

A similar phenomenon occurred in numerous barrios throughout the southwest in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Numerous Mexican American gang members formed an organization called the Brown Berets. They politicized their communities, protected them from police harassment and in some barrios, established "free clinics." As Matthew Dumont has said, "the line between destructive and constructive activism is much finer than the line between activism itself and passivity."[7] Few would disagree that a crucial element of mental health is a sense of environmental mastery, a feeling that some part of the environment, however small, is subject to the control and manipulation of the individual.

This approach does not destroy the gang, but rather changes and redirects its activities and energies toward doing something about its environment. It begins to attack the basic cause of the barrio gang. As it participates in political activities, it is no longer participating in activities that are harmful to the gang itself, the members, and/or others in the community. This unit, therefore, no longer can be defined as a "gang."

Mexican American - Police Relations

In analyzing a total of 330 in-process and completed doctoral dissertations in social work, not one was found to be concerned with the topic of police-community relations,[8] a subject that many view today as one of the most serious problems affecting large urban areas. Police-community relations is a legitimate social work area of research inquiry and practice, but with the exception of a few research efforts such as Nathan Cohen's "Los Angeles Riot Study," the social work profession during the last thirty-five years has, more often than not, ignored this area of community behavior.

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[6] Matthew P. Dumont, The Absurd Healer (New York: The Viking Press, 1968), p. 151.

[7] Ibid., p. 153.

[8] "Doctoral Dissertations in Social Work," The Social Service Review, Volume 45, Number 3, September, 1971, pp. 324-71.

One of the most comprehensive studies in the literature with regard to minority groups and law enforcement was conducted in 1931 under the direction of a social worker--Dr. Edith Abbott, Dean of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. This multi-volume work became the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement Report on Crime and the Foreign Born, popularly known as the "Wickersham Report." Dr. Abbott was assisted in her work by social work Professor Jesse F. Steiner, and his graduate students at the Tulane University School of Social Work.[9]

Historically social workers have played a role in police-community relations. For example, Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago took an active advocate role in the 1920's in protecting and assisting Mexicans in dealing with aggressive police.[10] A social work pioneer applying legal resources in behalf of clients Miss Addams also became a founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union.[11]

A March 1970 Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights revealed that a bleak picture existed in the relationship between Mexican Americans and law enforcement agencies in the southwest.[12] The Commission Report, by necessity, was somewhat general as it had to be concerned with police-community relations in the whole southwest. A more recent in-depth study by a social worker of this problem in one East Los Angeles, California

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[9] National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement: Report on Crime and the Foreign Born (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), p. 18.

[10] Ibid.

[11] "What Are Your Rights?" American Civil Liberties Union, 156 5th Avenue, New York, New York, April, 1967.

[12] Mexican Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest. A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March, 1970), p. 87.

barrio dealt with Mexican American perceptions of selected law enforcement policies and practices. This community witnessed eight riots during 1970-71, which resulted in extensive property damage, five citizen deaths, and hundreds of injuries to Mexican American citizens and law enforcement personnel. It was expected that the analysis of law enforcement policies related to perceived field practices would provide new information about the nature and causes of the police-community relations conflict.

Interviews were conducted in randomly selected census tracts in East Los Angeles by ten university students having bilingual and bicultural capabilities. The questionnaire had seven core questions pertaining to "language," "roust and frisk," "stopping and searching cars," "searching homes," "unnecessary force" in "arrest," "custody" or "riot" law enforcement practices. The questions were asked in four different contexts: 1) does it happen in this area? 2) has it happened to you? 3) have you seen it happen? 4) has it happened to someone you know?

The findings revealed that sixty-five to eighty percent of the sample believed that law enforcement officers in East Los Angeles were using "insulting language," "rousting and frisking citizens," "stopping and searching cars without cause or a good reason," and using "unnecessary force" in "arrests," "custody," and in handling "riots" as it involved Mexican American citizens. Thirty-three to forty-two percent of the sample reported that three of the foregoing practices had actually happened to them. Sixty-two to seventy-one percent of the sample reported that they had observed four of these law enforcement practices in East Los Angeles, and fifty to sixty-two percent of the sample reported that six of the seven police practices had happened to someone they knew.

One of the most signigicant findings of the study was that in four of the seven forms of police practices, there was no official law enforcement departmental written policy guidelines. The policies that were available in the remaining three police practice areas, were not too explicit, varied between the two law enforcement agencies and were somewhat general.

The fact that well over half of Mexican American respondents in East Los Angeles believed that the various forms of law enforcement practices were happening in East Los Angeles, had observed them, had happened to someone known by them, and that thirty-three to forty-two percent of respondents actually experienced these practices, should cause very serious concern and speculation regarding the future of police-community relations in the Mexican American community. These findings should be interpreted by law enforcement agencies as a general complaint of the community. What apparently is related to the critical perceptions of Mexican Americans of law enforcement behavior is the general lack of explicit, precise, official departmental written policies and guidelines. This has the effect of granting the officer in the field the responsibility of applying a "general rule of thumb" approach in his work in the community.[13]

The results of this social work police-community relations study were used in an effort to revive the historical roots of social work into a contemporary era of even greater need. Exploring in depth the perceptions of Mexican Americans regarding law enforcement behavior is only the first step in understanding the incidence and prevalence of the problem.

There are other aspects of intervention that may have social work research and practice implications in police-community relations concerns. First of all, social workers have an important clinical role as it pertains to police malpractice victims and their families. In addition to physical suffering, police abuse may be one of the most painful psychological experiences that a human being can experience in a free, democratic society. These experiences have also been known to inflame groups and communities to a bursting point. Assisting groups to achieve their maximum intervention potential with official government bodies may accomplish more than mere expression of explosive rage.

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[13] Armando Morales, "A Study of Mexican American Perceptions of Selected Law Enforcement Policies and Practices in East Los Angeles," Doctoral Dissertation, U.S.C. School of Social Work, June, 1972.

Although a social worker, with established minority community sanction, might be looked upon with suspicion by that community were he/she to meet with law enforcement agencies on a regular basis, it might be preferrable, and perhaps more effective, if school-based social work students and faculty met with law enforcement agencies to assist one another in finding ways of dealing with these complex, sensitive police-community relations issues. Group work and community organization theory and practice would be of value to persons in the law enforcement field in their community work, and conversely, social workers could learn much about the institutional difficulties and constraints encountered when a law enforcement paramilitary organization, rigidly based upon the requirements of the law, attempts to relate to the minority community in progressive and flexible ways. The polarization between minority communities and law enforcement agencies makes these reciprocal approaches almost mandatory.

The creation of a police-community relations curriculum for social work graduate students developed and taught by social work and police science faculty would provide students some basic information needed to understand the problem. A recent example of social work students gaining some exposure to police-community relations problems may be seen in the study "Perceptions of the Police in a Black Community." In this study, members of the Black Student Union who were also students of the University of Maryland School of Social Work, conducted all of the interviews.[14] Social work and police science faculties might explore ways in which social work, police science and criminology graduate students can enter into joint projects, studies and even more intensive research inquiries in the police-community relations field.

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[14] Irving A. Wallach and Colette C. Carter, "Perceptions of the Police in a Black Community," Volume I, Research Analysis Corporation, McLean, Virginia, January, 1971, p. 11.

Riots and the Mexican American Community

On January 23, 1975, the Los Angeles Times reported that the Los Angeles Police Department was beginning a program of training to control possible food riots. Police Commander Fred Brittell, who previously had been in charge of the "Special Weapons and Tactics" (SWAT) force, said that the special training had been ordered by Ed Davis, the Chief of Police. More than 500 police supervisors have already gone through the program, and plans call for all of the 7200 officers on the force to go through food riot control drills at each station house. The nation's declining economy, major unemployment, and fears of still worse news to come, prompted the police to take this action.

Should riots be a concern of social work? Are riots now a concern of social work practice? The answer to the first question should be "yes," and the answer to the second is "no." A review of all social work doctoral dissertations published in the Social Service Review from 1967 through 1973 reveals that not one dissertation pertained to the subject of riots. Should not human need determine our practice intervention efforts? With the exception of a few articles, pamphlets, and one book pertaining to some 150 ghetto riots throughout the nation in the 1960's, the social work profession by and large assumed the passive role of observer. The 1969 National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence Report revealed that the U.S. ranked number one as to riots among the seventeen Western democracies. During the 1961-68 period, there were more casualties (9,500) per ratio of population in U.S. riots than the other Western democracies, "most of them the result of police action." The U.S. had four times more riot casualties because of police intervention--48 per million compared to 12 per million in the other seventeen Western democracies.

Just as "Watts" spearheaded Black riots in the "60's," "East Los Angeles" spearheaded Chicano riots in the 1970's. Approximately forty riots took place in Mexican American communities between 1970 and 1972 in various parts of the southwest, and again, social workers by-and-large assumed a passive role. One book was published related to this subject matter entitled ANDO SANGRANDO (I am Bleeding) - A Study of Mexican American - Police Conflict. Reviewed in a social work journal, it was described as being of "inestimable value to social work students and practitioners working with residents in the barrio."[15] This book has been adopted as a textbook in over eighty colleges and universities in the southwest, but not one school of social work.

Now that the police are preparing themselves to handle the potentiality of food riots in the near future, are social workers once again going to be passive observers? Our professional values demand that we develop our practice knowledge in this area. In working toward this goal, social workers will have to learn about sociological apects and social work skills in working with groups and communities, theories and practice of racism, collective violence and power, law enforcement culture, law and the criminal justice system, political science, and various uses of the media.

There are a variety of ways in which social worker skills can be applied to work in riot situations. On a prevention level, once meaningful working relationships with the political power structure, law enforcement and minority community groups have been established, the social worker can serve as a mediator, consultant and advocate with the indicated group. These efforts can provide an outlet for tensions, especially if community people feel that some attempt is being made regarding the solution of grievances.

The amount of force used by law enforcement can greatly affect the course of the riot. Law enforcement over-reaction has proven to be counterproductive and has even escalated riots. In the early stages of the riot, the social worker's effective role, for example, would be to encourage law enforcement restraint while simultaneously involving the more responsible community groups in policing their own community. The deployment of volunteer attorneys to monitor and record law enforcement and community behavior encourages law enforcement control and professionalism but as well communicates to the community members that others are concerned about the manner in which the police treat them.

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[15] Book review by J. Enrique Salinas of ANDO SANGRANDO (I Am Bleeding): A Study of Mexican American-Police Conflict (La Puente, Calif., Perspectiva Publications, Box 3563, 1972), by Armando Morales, in The Social Service Review, Volume 47, Number 4, December, 1973, p. 646.

During the more intense stages of rioting, law enforcement must be discouraged from using deadly force in handling rioters. The excessive use of deadly force has been found to escalate and even initiate new riots. Such was the case in the East Los Angeles community that experienced eight riots during a twenty-one month period. Rather than deadly force, the utilization of tear gas, water hoses or harmless plastic bullets should be recommended.

Following the conclusion of a riot, feelings of anger fill the air. Law enforcement personnel, in particular, have been found to develop even greater negative attitudes toward the minority community that rioted. Overly aggressive patrol methods that violate the community's civil rights has been found to be a common experience. Discretion in patrol, coupled with community support for sensitive law enforcement patrol should be encouraged.

The phenomenon of riots in disadvantaged communities has also made its impact felt in social service and mental health agencies. Staff of some agencies have developed conflict along ethnic lines. As they become immobilized, services to the minority client population cease. Social workers, in the role of mental health consultants, could provide group mental health consultation to staff in conflict to help them resolve their differences. This would hopefully make it less difficult for clinicians to meet their responsibilities to their clients.

Finally, social workers can be of direct clinical assistance to psychological victims of the riots, particularly children. There is evidence to show that children exposed to riots have fears unproportionally aroused as well as often exacerbating pre-existent inner problems.

Conclusion

Shortcomings of social work practice in Mexican American communities as it concerns gangs, police-community relations and riots, have been highlighted. These social problems have existed in Mexican American communities for many years and from a social work practice standpoint, they have largely been ignored.

Three practice intervention suggestions have been offered as possible ways in which social work can relate to these problem areas. A body of knowledge exists about the sociology of gangs and group work with gangs, but not from the psycho-socio-political intervention perspective. It is argued that precisely this aproach must be adopted by social workers if significant, long-term benefits for the gang and its community become primary goals.

A body of literature also is available pertaining to police-community relations and riots. Mainly written by sociologists, political scientists, and law enforcement scholars, this literature generally reflects theoretical problem analysis perspectives by social scientists and police-public relations specialists as well as symptom suppression strategies by law enforcement representatives. Literature related specifically to police-minority community conflict reduction intervention practices is generally lacking.

Theoretically speaking, group work and community organization knowledge and skills would seem to be the best foundation for a practitioner interested in reducing these forms of large-scale social conflict. Based upon what is reported in the social work literature, however, there does not seem to be too many social workers who possess the actual practice experience of dealing with large-scale social conflict. If this assumption is valid, social work schools will have to collaborate with related disciplines and even recruit knowledgeable people from the barrios for teaching purposes. Through such efforts, social work practice will become more relevant to the urban human condition of Mexican Americans in America, and the shortcomings of social work practice in Mexican American communities will be reduced.

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COMMENTARY

Luciano A. Santa Cruz, D.S.W.

Dr. Morales has attempted to present some shortcomings of social work practice in Mexican-American communities. In so doing, his charge of ineffectiveness applies only to those specific symptoms of societal oppression, as observed in gang behavior, police-community relationships, and civil disturbance. These shortcomings should not be viewed as a general indictment of the intervention activity of this profession in Mexican-American communities. However, it does point to a need for social workers to understand the Mexican-American experience as a basis for effective helping.

It is understandable that the many and varied approaches to gang intervention cannot be effective. Especially, when goals of intervention are focused on the residuals of an oppressive system rather than on those causal factors which lead to powerlessness and dysfunctioning within a community. The placement of mutually exclusive categories of intervention on the same continuum of ineffectiveness suggests that all present approaches used in dealing with gang behavior serve the same purpose. On the contrary, those self-enhancing and actualizing tools, which are at the disposal of social workers, should not be equated with the dehumanizing procedures used in law enforcement. These latter approaches have no helping value and are not consistent with the values of social work.

The alternative approach to intervention with gangs where they are politicized appears to serve only as a "band aid" approach in the treatment of a particular symptom of community dysfunctioning. There is no doubt that energies of gang members can be channeled in useful and constructive ways; however, this does not insure against the possibility that community change may only be related to those specific needs of the gang. One must question whether the gang can truly represent the diverse interests of an oppressed community. It may be more effective to include all segments of the community in decision making, policy formulation, and insuring the adequacy of service delivery.

If a community system is dysfunctional, as viewed through its symptoms, then a multi-level approach would be useful in intruding within the system rather than one approach. If the causal factor for gang behavior and civil disorder is viewed as oppression and a lack of sensitivity by the larger society, then community organization can be a valid approach. It must also be recognized that intervention addressed to changes in a community system also implies intervention with the many parts that constitute the whole. Therefore, one must not negate the helpfulness of the clinical approach in enabling members of a community to cope with stress. The clinical approach is not a panacea for the ills of a community, but it does play an important part in the alleviation of the immediate stresses of life. Its applicability may be seen as functional in reducing the high and growing rates of suicide occurring within the Mexican-American community.

If one feels those constructive tools of a profession to be effective for one population, but inadequate for another segment, then the context in which they are applied must be questioned. Are we not in fact dealing with the variable of differences between cultural orientations, i.e., majority culture versus minority culture? Does the larger and more powerful community whose value set is based on the dominant cultural orientation of this country understand the intricacies of the Mexican-American experience, that is, his specific ways of thinking, feeling, and acting? It would appear that knowledge based on the awareness and understanding of the dynamics of the Mexican-American culture can be utilized not only in increasing the meaningfulness of services rendered to the Mexican-American community, but also as a basis from which the needs, problems, and experiences of the Mexican-

American community can be translated to the larger sociopolitical system. The positiveness of bi-cultural sensitivity and the usefulness of bi-cultural understanding in the implementation of services to Mexican-Americans have been brought out in those studies cited by Dr. Morales where utilization of mental health services has been related to similarities perceived in ethnic experiences.

AMERICAN INDIANS: HISTORY AND CULTURE, FEDERAL POLICIES, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

E. Daniel Edwards and Margie E. Edwards

The terms "Native American" and "American Indian" are used interchangeably. Since "Indian" is a misnomer, many people prefer the term "Native American".

American Indians! Native Americans! These terms represent descriptions of the first people of this country whom we regard as "Native" Americans. Some view Native Americans with respect, awe and admiration; others with fear and disdain; others with acclaim and appreciation of their contributions to our life-style; some with misunderstanding of their cultural heritage and stereotyping of their past and current behavior. But among most people--Native American and non-Indians--there is a desire to learn more about Native Americans, their contributions, lifestyle and present way of life, as well as obstacles to their progress and success.

This paper has been developed in three parts. Part A deals with Native American culture, lifestyles and values. Part B is concerned with historical accounts of American Indian policy and the effects of such policies upon the American Indian. Part C discusses approaches to the historical understanding of the American Indian and how this could enhance social work practice.

NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE, LIFESTYLES & VALUES

The economics of the Native Americans were traditionally tied in with their social structure, religious beliefs and environment. In those parts of the country where food was readily accessible, sophisticated economic systems were developed. When Native Americans did not have to devote a great deal of their time to survive, they were able to formulate impressive government systems, well developed social and behavioral systems, entertainment and recreational leisure styles and impressive religious rites

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and ceremonies.

In those tribal systems where a great deal of time and attention was given to survival, Native Americans spent much time in procuring food, preserving food, attending to the daily needs of shelter, and establishing residence where such could be more easily acquired. In these tribal groups, it was not unusual to have summer and winter homes and camps and housing for the entire tribe which necessitated movement according to seasons of the year. In these instances it was important that material possessions be limited to facilitate movement of families, clans, and tribal groups to new camps and living areas.

Some examples of the economic structures of Native American groups include the following:

The Huron villages were occupied throughout the entire year. Their change of residence was at intervals of 10 to 20 years when they sought new soil for farming or areas with more productive wild game. They were efficient farmers and developed important fishing enterprises and engaged in trade with a number of other Native American groups. Their fish, fruit and vegetables were dried for winter use. The homes they constructed were large elongated lodges with fireplaces for cooking areas.

Their political organization consisted of two departments; one controlled the affairs of state and the other the affairs of war. In order to acquire a high rank in these two political organizations one had to demonstrate intellectual preeminence, eloquence, free expenditure, courage and wise conduct. The Huron council government deliberations were conducted by male members of the tribe characterized by respect for one another. They would often end their short speeches or advice-giving statements by saying "That is my thought on the subject under discussion." Their remarks often exhibited gentleness and discretion.[1]

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[1] W.V. Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760*,(Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press 1940) p. 57.

The Plains area Native Americans built their economic system largely around the buffalo. There is an old Assinaboine saying, "The buffalo gives food from his flesh and clothing from his hide"[2]. As the buffalo flesh was used for food; bones for tools, ornaments and arrow points; horns for spoons and small containers; and dew claws and hoofs for rattles. The hair was twisted into ropes for horses and the tendons were used for thread. Skins were made into ropes, tipis and moccasins. Hides were used for binding and joining where nails are used today. Serviceable knives were fashioned from buffalo ribs.[3]

"The Pueblo Indians depended upon corn and game for food. They were potters and raised cotton, from which they wove good cloth. The turkey was domesticated. They were rich in turquoise which they mined and fashioned into beads and pendants. Their implements were of stone and bone. They were good masons and invented an ingenious ventilating flue for their kivas".[4]

Social Structure

The social structure of many native American tribes was largely based on family and clan units with the less organized tribal groups dominated by small family units. Some tribes were often organized in clans and large group systems which could be traced back to either male or female common ancestors. Tribal groups that emphasized the clan systems considered relationships within the larger group very important. The clan shared responsibility for obtaining the necessities of life, rearing children, making economic decisions, and sharing in the preparation and participation of religious rites and ceremonies.[5]

Many Native American tribal groups were based on matrilineal descent while others stressed patrilineality and still others had no formalized unilateral divisions. Many tribal groups were large in number and lived in the equivalent of our towns. For example, the Cherokee Nation, at the time of the arrival of the Pilgrims, was estimated to have a population of 20,000 people living in 60 towns within the states of Carolina and Tennessee.[6]

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[2] W. Moquin, & C. Van Doren, Great Documents in American Indian History, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973),p. 4.

[3] C. Wissler, Indians of the United States, (New York: Anchor Books, 1966),p. 178.

[4] Ibid.

[5] A.M. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America, (New York: Knopf, 1968).

The Cherokee and the Choctaw developed a social sub-structure within their tribes which allowed for the educated and wealthy upper-class to take an active part in tribal and international politics.

In the early part of the colonization of our country, the "nations" of the Native Americans dealt with European nations and with the United States on equal terms. Native American ambassadors were appointed to deal with other nations as the need arose.

The Northern Iroquoian-speaking tribes lived in large towns and villages with the houses arranged in rows like streets. According to a Native American legend, the League of the Five Nations was formed in this area, for the purpose of keeping peace among all Indian people. Women held a special and important position in this organization, while men carried out the responsibilities of the League. Members were appointed by matriarchs who could also depose an appointee if his performance was unsatisfactory.[7]

The California Indians had highly developed material and organizational patterns. Their social customs and ceremonies were very complex and differed even among their close neighbors. The Yuroks had a precise system of payment by one individual to another for "injuries or offenses to body, feelings, or property."[8] "All of the principal events of life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death, as well as the seasonal changes of nature were observed in ceremony and ritual, the core of which was the dance. The latter generally occurred in large ceremonial round houses and sometimes lasted for two weeks, the dancers being attired in splendid feathered headdresses and special costumes".[9]

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[6] Ibid, p. 115.
[7] Ibid, pp. 94-95.
[8] Ibid, pp. 143-144.

The California Indians had an abundance of natural resources available to them; therefore, they did not lack for food, shelter, or clothing supplies. This abundance allowed them to develop extensive social and religious systems, and elaborate costumes.

The Pima and Papago of the southwest were peaceful and industrious people with extensive agricultural pursuits. Their villages were headed by a "big man" who was chosen for his wisdom, enforced the loosely contrived rules and regulations of the tribe, led in their religious ceremonies, presided over the village council, and helped arbitrate disputes of the village. They enjoyed living peacefully with one another.[10]

It is interesting to note that in many tribes farming was left to the women "whose child-bearing power was thought to be transferred magically to the crops".[11]

One of the rather generic social customs of Native American people revolved around an open, hospitable manner. It was not necessary to invite friends, acquaintances, and people who were traveling to stay over night or join in family and clan meals. Such hospitality was taken for granted, and people were welcomed.

Many Native American tribal groups maintained strict codes of behavior which were adhered to by all members of the group. Publicly shaming or ostracizing tribal members who did not adhere to these codes was a common practice.[12]

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[9] Ibid, p. 144.

[10] R. Silverberg, Home of the Red Man (New York: Washington Square Press, 1971) p. 132 .

[11] R.M. Underfill, Red Man's America (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971).

[12] A.M. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968),p. 121.

Marriage within the Northwest Indian tribes was regarded as a social contract, "not merely between the man and his wife, but between their respective families".[13] Group solidarity was achieved in a number of ways one of the most important being the "potlatch". Potlatches were held when titles and other honors were given to bestow family rights to which people were entitled; when children were given family names; when children had their ears pierced; when people would be presented as members of groups; to mourn the death of a loved one, particularly a chief; to announce a new chief; to confirm the status or positions of worth of chiefs; to save face if a misadventure befell a chief or leading official; and to demonstrate power, wealth, and superiority over rivals. It was common for all members of the family group presenting the potlatch to participate in the preparations and actual event. The event would last for several days and feature huge amounts of food, dancing and singing, and the giving away of innumerable gifts.

The Native American Good Life

Among Native Americans there is a great diversity in values and lifestyles. Such diversity relates to the differing social and political customs of the tribes, the differing religious beliefs, and their environmental resources. Many values, however, appear generic to the majority of Native American Tribes. The personal and individual interpretation varied with each tribe. Among these are the following:

1. Appreciation of individuality. Most tribes respect the individual, his freedom and autonomy. Tribal members are given freedom to assume responsibility for themselves and their actions. Individual decisions are highly valued.

2. Group concensus. The majority of tribes regard one another's opinions with respect. Many meetings, discussions, "pow-wow," etc. are lengthy in nature since Native Americans strive for group concensus, not majority rule, in their decision-making process. Among many tribes counsels decided on the course of action with the feelings and opinions of each person considered

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[13] P. Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast, (New Jersey: American Museum Science Books, 1963), p. 144.

too important to override.[14]

3. Respect for all living things. Native Americans have reverent feelings for all living things. They believe the growing things of the earth and all animals have spirits or souls, and that they should be treated as humanely as possible with respect, and appreciation for the contributions made to the Native American lifestyle.

4. Respect and reverence for the land. Native Americans believe that all things of this earth were given to them for their use and to exploit the resources of the earth is intolerable. A Native American should not be extravagant with any part of the earth's natural resources.

5. Feelings of hospitality. The majority of Native Americans will greet friends, family, clansmen, tribesmen and visitors with demonstrations of hospitality and regard. Historically, it was not necessary to either ask for food, nor was an invitation required. Many long and friendly discussions were held with visitors who were shown real and honest hospitality.

6. One should avoid bringing shame upon one's self, family, clan, or tribe. The expected behavioral customs of Native Americans are well understood by each group. Native Americans are taught to bring respect and honor to their families, clan and tribe. To bring dishonor thereupon is strongly negatively reinforced.

7. A belief in a supreme being and life after death. There is among most Native American groups a strong belief in a supreme being. There is also a generalized belief in a guardian spirit which accompanies each Native American. A belief in life after death is also generic to most Native Americans.

Values of Native Americans

With the colonization of the United States, one of the most constant sources of conflict revolved around the non-Indian's desire for private ownership of land. It was impossible for Native Americans to understand or accept that concept. Many Native Americans "feel a sacred attachment to the land and reverence for nature that is incomprehensible to whites. Many Native Americans, through Christian, find repugnance in the idea that man possesses dominion over the birds and beasts, and believe still that man is brother to all else that is living".[15]

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[14] A.M. Josephy, Jr., The Indian Heritage of America,(New York: Knopf),p. 35.
[15] Ibid, p. 8.

Another area of contention revolved around the Protestant work ethic. Native Americans did not experience the necessity for working the year around. Their responsibility was to provide for their families and this they did in the necessary time. They also could not justify "the reason for cutting the earth-mother with a plow and farming if they could still hunt, fish and dig roots".[16]

The importance of individual, as well as the group decision-making processes, were important to Native Americans. The belief in the freedom and dignity of the individual was deeply ingrained in many Indian societies. In some tribes it was observed to such an extent that at any time, even when his people were fighting for their lives, a man could go his own way and do whatever seemed right to him. In the Pueblo society for example, individualistic qualities, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and the ambition to lead were looked upon as offensive to the supernatural powers, and laid people open to accusations of witchcraft. The Pueblo people were taught to "value modesty, sobriety, and inoffensiveness, and to avoid conflict and violence".[17]

The Winnebagos had many values which they passed from father to son. Among these were the following: (1) A son should learn to fast because that was the only way he would be of some real benefit to his fellow men. (2) Each boy should try to obtain a spirit to strengthen him (probably a guardian angel). Without such a spirit a boy would not amount to anything and perhaps his tribesmen would show him little respect. (3) Warriors should not exaggerate their war exploits. On the contrary, they should all tell a little less than what they had accomplished. If they told untruths, the war spirits would hear them and the warrior would die soon after. (4) Husbands should never abuse their wives. Women were sacred and abuse could lead to miserable lives and possible early death. If one mistreated his wife, it would be the same as mistreating his grandmother, the earth, who was also considered to be a woman. However, wives should not be idolized in marriage as the more you worship a woman, the more she will want to be worshipped. A wife should not be guarded. Jealousy will result in your wife leaving you and running away. First you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this.[18] (5) Men should show hospitality to whomever should enter their house and should offer the visitor whatever was available in the house. (6) Old, helpless people were to be helped in whatever way possible.

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[16] Ibid, p. 7.
[17] Ibid, p. 164.

Many of these values were expressed for the purpose of safeguarding the individuality of people, while others were important to the solidarity of the group. Many of them also demonstrate the reverence and respect for their supreme being. As one Paynee mother said to her son, Lone Chief, "You must trust always in Ti-ra-wa. He made us, and through him we live... When you get to be a man, remember that it is his ambition that makes the man...Take pity on people who are poor...Love your friend and never desert him. If you are surrounded by the enemy, do not run away. Go to him, and if you cannot save him, be killed together, and let your bones lie side by side".[19]

Many tribes have legends which extol the natural resources and gifts from their "great spirits." The Indians of Utah, Arizona and New Mexico extol the corn, which they dramatize in the Green Corn Dance and other ceremonies. The myth of the origin of the corn is still told by many tribes in the southwest. Corn Dances are held to show their appreciation for and to ask the blessings of the "great spirit" on the new corn crop.

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[18] W. Moquin, Great Documents in American Indian History,(New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973)p. 50.
[19] Ibid, pp. 52-53.

Another value of Native Americans was respect and humane treatment for their aged. They were to be cared for by their sons, daughters, and fellow kinsmen. The Mohave were extremely kind to aged relatives as the hopelessly ill or infirmed were never killed. Some tribes allowed their hopelessly ill to die in very humane ways. This was because of feelings of pity rather than from any feelings of necessity.[20]

Values of the Native Americans can be seen in the words of Manuelito, a great Navajo war chief, as he talks about the return of the Navajo people to their homeland after their forced encampment at Fort Sumner. "The nights and days were long before it came time for us to go to our homes. The day before we were to start, we went a little way toward home, because we were so anxious to start. We came back and the Americans gave us a little stock and we thanked them for that. We told the drivers to whip the mules, we were in such a hurry. When we saw the tops of the mountain from Albuquerque, we wondered if it was our mountain and we felt like talking to the ground, we loved it so, and some of the old men and women cried with joy when they reached their homes".[21]

Lifestyles

When most non-Indians think of the Native American in colonial times, they think of "warfare". While some Native American tribes practiced warfare to a large degree, "it is either false or exaggerated to conceive of all Indians as warriors, or as war-motivated people. Certain groups, such as the Hopi were among the most peaceful on earth, and many indians abhorred warfare and the misery and violent death it brought".[22]

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[20] R.F. Spencer, & J.C. Jennings, The Native Americans,(New York: Harper and Rowe, 1965)p. 250.

[21] D. Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee,(New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

[22] A. M. Josephy, Jr., The Indian Heritage of America,(Knopf, 1968),p. 28.

Much of Indian life revolved around marriage, which was very important, building and caring for a home, providing for the necessities of life, and rearing children. A number of marriage rites were customary. With some tribes the couple lived with the wife's family while in other tribes the couple lived with the husband's family. In other groups, the newly married couples established their own homes. Dissolving of marriages may have been more easily accomplished by some tribal groups than others. Among some groups, if the husband left his wife, he could not return to live with her again or he was disgraced by his tribal group.[23]

To the Sioux the home was the center of their society. It was in the home that personal, social, and tribal values were formed. Some of the duties of the women included cooking, keeping houses in order, sewing, decorating wearing apparel, cleaning and painting hides and skins, making and repairing tipis, keeping plenty of food stored and cooked, welcoming friends who would come for visits, planning feasts, and caring for the children. Older people were revered with the responsibility to supervise and advise on all matters pertaining to the birth and care of children. Grandmothers, next to mothers, were the most important people in the home. Grandmothers gave a great deal of attention to children and were interested in their care and growth.

Sioux men were given a great deal of attention by the women as they were the hunters, scouts and warriors. Yet when they were at home they helped to lighten the work of the women.

"Perhaps the hardest duty in the performance of parenthood was not so much to watch the conduct of their children, as to be ever watchful of their own--a duty placed on the parents through the method used in instructing their young--example."[24] Parenthood was highly valued.

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[23] J.L. Long, & Red Feather, Courtship and Marriage, Great Documents in American Indian History,(New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).p. 40.

[24] L. Standing Bear, Indian Family Life, Great Documents in American Indian History,(New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).p. 42.

The Pueblo people were not warriors. The men's lifestyle revolved around farming. The houses belonged to the women and remained with them all their lives. There was never a shortage of men and so each Pueblo man took only one wife and lived with her at her home. Young children participated in small chores, and modeled the roles of the women and men.

Though the good life of the Native American reflected well defined roles, skills, responsibilities, duties, etc., many of the "work assignments" were also combined with recreational and leisure activities. A great deal of feasting, provision of gifts, and special events were carefully planned for weeks at a time.

Religion

It was difficult for the European colonizers to understand the Native American's deep reverence and respect for the earth, all things of nature, and their belief in a supreme being. Native Americans strove for a oneness in their feelings with each other as tribal members, with nature, and with their supreme being. They believed that if harmony with nature were disturbed, misfortune such as illness, pain, or death would result. Life after death was believed to be a continuation of existence in another world.

The Medicine Man and Shaman

The Medicine Man and Shaman were common to many Native American tribes. Their chief functions were to treat and cure the sick; to take preventive measures against sickness, drought, shortage of food and enemy raids; and to insure good crops, a good hunt or success in war. A Shaman would sometimes seek to bring harm to an enemy or rival. The medicine men had great faith in their powers and sought to utilize these most often in the best interests of their people.[25]

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[25] Josephy, 1968, p. 24; Wissler, 1966, p. 128. op. cit.

Ceremonials

Native American ceremonials were held for many purposes. Some of them were preventive in nature or intended to bring rain and keep the crops growing. Others were performed to ask for and insure good hunts while some were held to receive forgiveness from sins or crimes committed. There were ceremonials for initiation into manhood or womanhood or to acknowledge important events in the child's growing up years and to secure the favors of their religious beings in insuring happy, prosperous lives for their children. Some ceremonies were held to give names to children. While ceremonials were primarily religious they also had many secondary gains such as "renewal of kin ties, the arranging of marriages, exchange of property, recitation of the past year's deeds and exploits, and political maneuvering",[26] and served to reinforce tribal group solidarity.

The life of a young Pueblo Indian was a constant round of ceremony. It began on a child's 20th day of life, when he had to be given a name. Later at about the age of eight, Pueblo boys were introduced to the rain spirit, and still later, were initiated into one of the Pueblo's religious societies".[27]

A ceremony of the Creek Native Americans is called Puskita or Busk--it was a time when all crimes were forgiven except that of murder. New lives were adopted and boys entering manhood were given new names.[28]

"There were inevitable changes in religions as the tribes were pushed closer together and began to exchange ideas as well as goods, religions combined and separated and grew upon and into one another, and underwent the same kinds of changes that social and economical institutions did." [29]

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[26] R.F. Spencer, & J.C. Jennings, The Native Americans, (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1965), p. 381.

[27] R. Silverberg, Home of the Red Man, (New York: Washington Square Press, 1971), p. 139.

[28] Ibid, p. 88.

[29] A. Marriott, & C.K. Rachlin, American Epic: The Story of the American Indian, (New York: New American Library, 1969), p. 42.

Summary

As one reviews the heritage and contributions of Native Americans, one is impressed with the intricacies and diversities of their culture. Distinctive also is the sereness of the lifestyle and the "balance" achieved in their economic, social, religious and recreational activities. Equally impressive is their regard for all living things and the supreme being or creator who made it all possible.

As we review the life and leisure of the Native American, "perhaps we may reconsider difficult questions that the American Indian heritage poses for us; should we have a concern, even a moral obligation, for a bear, a grove of redwoods, a sacred lake, or even a wolf, a coyote, or an alligator? From a practical standpoint, should we not regard the land as a depreciable resource in only finite supply? If we are able to reassess our values, surely the American Indian concept of Mother earth will help us on the way to comprehending ecological rightness in the modern world".[30]

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY

At the time Columbus landed on the Caribbean Islands there were as few as 1,000,000 and as many as 3,000,000 estimated Indians on the North American continent. In 1910 native inhabitants were estimated to number 210,000; and today there are approximately 1,000,000 Indians in the continental United States.[31]

Many federal government policies have influenced not only the Native American population but their lifestyles and general well being. An historical study of these decisions indicates that there have been five general policies levied upon the Native American. These policies and their resultant effects are enumerated as follows:

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[30] W. Jacobs, What we Owe the Woodland Indians. The Sweep of American History, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 70.

[31] J. Highwater, Foder's Indian America, (New York: D. McKay Co., 1975).

Extermination

Extermination has long been a method of handling conflict between races. This policy of annihilation was directed toward the Native Americans by Europeans and was partially successfuly. Genocide was practiced until the American Indian had no wealth or property to cause the dominant group to seek further destruction of their culture and lives.

The most successful ways of annihilating a race have been through the introduction of disease, war, alcohol and slavery. Disease was the most effective means practiced in this country since the American Indians lacked immunity. History records that at the time of Columbus's arrival only two diseases existed among Native Americans--cancer and arthritis.

An example of the effectiveness of the use of germ warfare was evidenced in the story of the Missouri Tribe Indians. In 1673 smallpox was introduced to the natives of the Missouri Tribe by the white man. Today there are no living Missouri Indians as the last one died in Oklahoma in 1907. On the east coast, in the Mississippi Valley area, on the west coast and into Alaska, thousands upon thousands of Indians died from Anglo diseases such as smallpox, measles, chicken pox and various fevers.

Another method of extermination introduced by the Dutch and the Spanish with the East Coast Indians was that of scalping. Scalpers were paid $5.00 per scalp. An interesting sidelight is that originally $50.00 was paid per head but because of the problem of disposing of the entire Indian head, it was decided that a scalp would be sufficient. At times, more money was given to those who shot the female Indian since she was the bearer of children.

Another example of racial genocide was reflected in the treatment of the California Indians. At the time of Columbus's arrival it was estimated that there were between 300,000 and 500,000 Indians in the State of California. After the Catholic Fathers terminated their mission services, the California Indian population dwindled to 100,000. A short time after California was made a state gold was discovered in the Sacramento Valley. A combination of vigilantes, gold miners and ranchers "waged war" upon the peaceful California Indians who lived in the "gold fields," reducing that population to an estimated 25,000. Today there are approximately 50,000 California Indians.[32]

Another method utilized to divert the hostilities of American Indians was to encourage tribal rivalries. In many instances, and particularly with the major battles won by the white invaders, American Indians were used as scouts to lead the Anglo armies into Indian lands.

The most prevalent reasons for the extermination of American Indians was the unrelenting need of the Anglo for Indian land. Since the Indians did not utilize deeds and written agreements, there were no records of ownership and the land was easily usurped by the Anglos. One of the popular feelings at that time was that "manifest destiny" gave the Anglos the "God-given right" to ownership of the American Indian lands.

Expulsion

Throughout the nation's westward expansion during the early 1700's and 1800's federal officials followed a policy of negotiated enforced removal of Indians from the eastern areas of white settlements to more remote western areas.

Those who advocated the policy of mass expulsion, when Indians were moved as tribal groups from one large geographical area to another, saw it as a more humane way of resolving the "American Indian problem" and advocated it in lieu of the extermination policy. Many laws were passed and enacted as areas became overpopulated, or became of value to the Anglos, thus requiring that Indians be moved to new locations. The Indian inhabitants were forced to leave and the land was then open to purchase or homesteading. In some areas the land was given away through a lottery system.

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[32] R.F. Spencer, & J.C. Jennings, The Native Americans, (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1965), pp. 229-232.

Expulsion policies affecting the American Indian are many. The classic example is that of the forced removal of Cherokees from their homeland in the east. The magnitude of the injustice and the total of lives lost have caused the Indians to call this incident "The Trail of Tears".[33]

By 1825, there were more than 13,000 Cherokees living in their eastern homelands. Contacts with the whites had greatly stimulated the growth of their population. They had willingly received into their group many white men and women who had taken Cherokee spouses. They occupied several millions of acres of land, schools and churches had been established, their farms were prosperous, they managed their political affairs well, the nation was out of debt, they were at peace, and they owned more than a thousand Negro slaves. The relationship changed when gold was discovered in the Georgia hills. On December 19, 1829, the legislature of Georgia passed an act appropriating a large area of Cherokee lands. A lottery system was set up to distribute the Indian land among the Anglos, and the Cherokees were instructed not to interfere or attempt to mine the gold on this newly disposed property.

The Cherokees appealed to President Andrew Jackson; but he refused their pleas. Then they appealed to the Supreme Court, but the Court declared that it was not its function to meddle in such affairs. The Cherokees, however, denounced the appropriations and forced treaty, and remained on the land. The government then moved in with 7,000 troops and some hostile civilians. Men, women and children were captured; homes and barns were burned and cattle and household goods were seized by the mobs. Even graves were opened, and silver and other valuables which were buried with the Indian dead were taken with the loot. The captives were herded into stockades and conducted under guard down the Missippi River and into the territory which is now Oklahoma. The expenses of this expulsion were charged to the Indians.

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[33] T. Wilkin, Cherokee Tragedy,(New York: MacMillan, 1970) pp. 1-329.

The details of this mass expulsion and westward trek were revolting. The suffering was intense, and the toll of lives staggering. More than 10,000 Cherokees were driven west, and of that number it is estimated that 4,000 perished along the way.

President Van Buren in his address to Congress on December 3, 1838, was able to report that the measures for Cherokee removal authorized by Congress at its last session have had the happiest effects. The Cherokees have immigrated without any apparent reluctance.

Another example of the expulsion policy was seen in the State of Colorado. In 1880 the Governor of that State forced the removal of several Indian tribes from the State of Colorado because of friction between Indians and settlers over property rights. Some of the tribes who left Colorado at that time included the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, Comanche, Jicarilla Apache and Utes.

The Homestead Act of 1863 was another example of expulsion of the Indian to make way for Anglos seeking homesteading rights. The Indian lands were divided in acreage lots and a lottery system was utilized for homesteading purposes.

Exclusion (Reservation)

The third federal policy initiated by the federal government was that of exclusion. Under this policy Indians were removed from their larger geographical areas which were called "reservations". Exclusion is a form of pluralism and can be looked upon as partial ostracism; a pattern of accommodation by the larger population in power.

The early resettlements were strongly resisted by many of the Indian tribes, and during the 1800's Plains Indians fought bitterly against accepting federal reservations. The final removal of the last Indians onto reservations was not completed until after the massacre of the Sioux at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890.[34]

Among the rationale developed to support the forced removal of Native Americans from their eastern homeland, were the following:

1. Assimilation was the goal of most Anglos for the Native Americans, Many Anglos felt that the Native peoples could not be assimilated in their present condition, and that if they were moved to a more frontier location, they would have more time to accept the ways of the dominant society.

2. In order to assist in this assimilation process, the Native Americans were taught to become farmers rather than nomadic hunters. Reservations could help them develop their farming skills.

3. Some felt that the evils of the European civilization would corrupt the Native Americans. In order to help the Native people maintain their cultural identity, it would be beneficial to the Native American to remove him from the contamination of the encroaching Anglo civilizations.

Regardless of the rationale given, the Native Americans interpreted such reasoning as "excuses" for allowing their land to be taken from them. As could have been predicted, the move to "Indian Territory" resulted in no real benefits for the Native American. When the federal government determined the boundaries of the various Indian homelands, called them reservations, and began to control the lives of the Indians within their borders, the era of Indian-white equality was over. The loss of equality came at different times to different Indian groups and had different effects on Indian life. Many negative sanctions and restrictions were imposed upon Native Americans living on reservations. For example, they were denied the use of their language, participation in cultural ceremonies, fulfillment of traditional roles, and, in general, a positive identification with "Indianness". However, in spite of these demands, there continued to be real pressure exerted from within the Native American population to maintain whatever elements of their culture they could. As a result of many broken treaties and unfulfilled promises, the Native Americans have learned to distrust those Europeans with whom they have so unsuccessfully bargained.

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[34] M. L. Wax, Indian Americans, Englewood Cliffs,(New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971) pp. 65-78.

Whatever else the reservation system may represent, it does make an acceptance of the Indians' right to live and to retain land and resources for their support. The reservation system as initiated was a way of establishing a boundary between the white man and the red man so that the responsibility for the actions of each against the other would be determined.

The reservation in the mid-nineteenth century frequently took on the character of a concentration camp, onto which the Indians could be herded as the lands they formerly occupied came increasingly under the control of the white man. The power of the white administrators of the Indian reservations grew until a white agent appointed by the federal government became the central authority figure. He replaced the Indian chief to whom the tribe formerly looked for leadership. Often these agents were ministers and missionaries who happened to be in the Indian territory at the time the reservations were formed. Over the years, the authority of the agent has been limited, reduced and clarified, as his duties and powers have been more clearly defined by statute and tested in the courts. Today the agent is the highest local representative of the BIA (called a superintendent) and the authority of that agency is now generally interpreted as being based upon Anglo Saxon conceptions of trusteeship.[35]

The new concept of the reservation was developed fully only in the

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[35] Ibid, pp. 65-87.

1960's and 70's when the Bureau of Indian Affairs gradually became more concerned with working for the best interests of the Indians. Threat of "termination" of the federal trust relationship has subsided for tribal members have become convinced that there is value in these enclaves as tax exempt land held in the trust of the United States for the benefit of the owners, the Indian tribes who inhabited them.

In spite of the negatives of this exclusion policy, one of the positive aspects of the reservation system has been that it has allowed the American Indian to maintain an identity. Native Americans were allowed through this encapsulation to continue their culture and lifestyles to the extent that today among many Indian tribes there are remnants of Indian religion and many of the cultural values of importance to the tribe. Many celebrations of both a religious and socialization nature have been continued through this process. If the American Indian had been forced into a ghetto situation in urban areas, much of this tradition would undoubtably have been lost.

As stated earlier, the reservation system was designed to confine, control, and "civilize" the American Indian or to convert him into becoming a "white man". United States reservation policy failed because it sought to force the Indian to join white society under coercion and unfavorable conditions. This social experiment failed because reservations were isolated and separate and resulted in dependency and welfarism.

Assimilation

Almost as soon as the process of placing the Indians on reservations had been completed, policy shifted to encouraging their assimilation into society at large which it was hoped, would allow the termination of special federal programs and trust relations. Indians on reservations were encouraged and sometimes forced to abandon tribal traditions. An education system aimed at instilling white values was developed.

Assimilation has been the prevailing policy since the turn of the century. Assimilation leads two different cultures to become a common culture. In 1871, Congress decreed that there would be no independent nations within the United States. From this point on, the American Indian became a ward of the federal government and policies were directed toward that of assimilation which was designed at weakening tribal organizations and destroying the culture of the American Indian.

Dawes Act Policy

One of the first major policies enacted to force this process of assimilation was the Dawes Act, or the Land Allotment Act of 1887.

The Dawes Act provided for the allotment of plots of acreage of Indian lands to "competent" Indian individuals. It was hoped that Indians would turn into farmers and ranchers overnight, and would therefore develop the self-sufficiency necessary to eliminate their dependent federal status. This allotment policy continued for nearly 50 years despite the fact that it did not have the benefits envisioned by its planners and resulted in the loss of three-fifths of all Indian lands. In many cases, Indians sold out to whites, lived on the assets until the money was gone and then returned to dependence on the federal reservations.[36]

Before the Dawes Act, the American Indian had owned, through the federal government, 188 million acres of land. After the Dawes Act was enacted, the American Indian was left with the possession of 47 million acres. The Land Allotment Act provided that each Indian family was awarded 160 acres; if the adult Indian was single, 80 acres were awarded. One of the "ironic" developments of this policy was that a large amount of the acreage was not awarded to the American Indians. The surrounding settlers, ranchers, and farmers were able to purchase this surplus acreage at bargain prices. The Bureau of Indian Affairs did not provide educational or financial support to help the Indians utilize the land allotted to them as Indians at that time were neither farmers or ranchers and when the acreage was given to them they had little knowledge of how to operate it successfully. Some of the acreage which was not purchased by non-Indians was then leased to Anglo people at extremely low prices.

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[36] J. Highwater, *Foder's Indian America*, (New York: David McKay Co., 1975).

American Indian Education Policies

With the unique history of Indian political relations with the federal government, Indian education has developed apart from typical American education in that the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs has been directly responsible for its development as compared to other people for whom the state and local communities assumed full educational responsibility The federal government continues to be obligated by treaty and custom to provide for the educational services and facilities of a large number of American Indians still living on or near Indian-owned and restricted trust lands.[37]

Indian education began soon after Europeans landed in America. Education in the colonial period (1600-1700's) offered curriculi to Indian youth that was the same as offered to non-Indian youth. In the 1800's and 1900's the notion grew that Indians were not "good with their heads but, rather, with their hands". More of the educational emphasis therefore shifted toward vocational education. Schools were generally poorly staffed and maintained. Teachers were difficult to recruit for the outlying reservation areas and then such teachers were poorly trained with the salaries too low to attract competent personnel. Attendance of Indian children was generally low even though they were removed, sometimes by force, to federal schools. Boarding schools were often overcrowded, militarily regimented and deficient in health and food services. The main objective of the off-reservation boarding school was to assimilate Indian children into white culture by teaching them in a protected environment, restricting them from practicing any of their cultural activities, or by not allowing them to speak their tribal languages.

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[37] Edwards, 1973, pp. 2-101.

Today Indian young people are being encouraged to complete high school and college programs. Educated Indian people are returning to reservations or are seeking employment in urban settings where they may work with Indian people. Sustained and heightened efforts must be maintained over a long period of time to have any beneficial effect upon Indians generally.

Relocation Policy

The "relocation" policies were instigated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to recruit American Indians for off-reservation living and began in 1952. American Indians were often sent to large cities where they could receive training in skilled areas. Some estimate that approximately 50 percent of the American Indians returned home to reservations because of an inability to adjust to the urban environment. Some criticized this program indicating that it provided very little support systems or that the program allowed Indian families only sufficient money to rent homes in ghetto or skid row areas where drinking problems were often reinforced and compounded. This program is continuing on a limited basis under the heading of Employment Assistance.

Termination Policies

After World War II support was developing in Washington for the termination of the federal government's special relationship with Indians. This support culminated in 1953 with the passage of a congressional resolution which declared termination to be the official federal policy. In the next five years, the trust status of a number of tribes was ended, including that of the Minominees in Wisconsin, the Klamaths in Oregon and several tribes in Oklahoma, Utah and California.

Termination meant that all federal programs were eliminated from those reservations. The Public Health Service and other Bureau of Indian Affairs services were eliminated. American Indians in those tribes were directed to "make it on their own" and function as other citizens of this country. Historically, this is characterized as one of the most damaging policies directed toward the American Indian. The tribes who were terminated failed miserably in their new independent status. They did not have the experiences or the knowledge and understanding necessary to function at a level wherein they could support themselves and maintain their financial enterprises. Mortality rates increased. Health problems were reported at dangerous levels. Many of these tribes to present day continue to rebuild from the results of the Termination Act.

The policy of termination had been discredited by the early 1960's by protest from the Indians who preferred to remain separate political entities, and others who argued that Indians were not ready for complete independence. In the last decade the pendulum has shifted in that the Indian reservations are now supported and being developed under the control of Indians.[38]

Other Factors Which Have Influenced the Assimilation Policies

Our cash economy and the manufactured goods lifestyle have caused changes in the Indian way of life. Government policies, educational system and the Christian movement have also affected American Indians. The need for farmlands, mines, and infiltration of the Indian fur trade produced damaging results to the Indians. The use of American Indians in World War I and particularly World War II brought the Indian out of the reservation and into the armed services where he was assimilated into a different lifestyle and came to learn and like many aspects of the Anglo lifestyle.

As a result of many of the above policies movements of protest have developed throughout the country. The most organized of which is the

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[38] J. Highwater, Foder's Indian America, (New York: David McKay Co., 1975).

American Indian Movement (AIM). AIM has initiated deliberations over American Indian fishing rights in the State of Washington, provided leadership in the Alcatraz facility wherein American Indians declared that subject to a Congressional act any land uninhabited in this country could be utilized by the American Indian. Protests at the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in Washington, D. C. and encampment at Wounded Knee are also activities of the AIM movement. One of the main goals of the AIM movement is to attack and correct current injustices directed toward American Indians.

Self-Determination

Ever since the Indians were placed on reservations more than 100 years ago, officials have been attempting to solve the "Indian Problem". The confining of a group of people to a limited area made the "Problem" seem deceptively clear. Through various eras, politicians have seized on a succession of "obvious" single word solutions--these include assimilation, land allotment, termination, education, relocation, and more recently, self-determination. But no policy or program has succeeded in rectifying the initial mistake of uprooting Indians from their lands and forcing them to live on the most barren, resourceless and unproductive lands that no settlers wanted.

The Indian Preference Ruling recently handed down through our judicial system is providing directives to the federal government to allow Indians to fulfill employment responsibilities and make decisions for their individual, tribal and ethnic lifestyles.

There are still no absolute answers to the "Indian Problem". Indians themselves are often bitterly divided as to what their status should be, given the inevitable conflicts between the traditional lives on reservations and the prevailing social and economic values of American society. Two facts stand out: (1) The problems of the American Indian are more acute on reservations than in urban areas. The Indians who elect to remain on tribal lands face the most severe economic, educational, health and social problems. (2) In terms of reservation conditions, which can be improved through heavy government expenditures, substantial progress has been made. Continued heavy funding may quiet the Indian and non-Indian critics by raising the standards of living on the reservations but money will not solve the more difficult remaining problems which deal with issues of fundamental cultural differences and the basic status of Indians on the reservations.

Economic independence of the Indian must be a prerequisite to true Indian self-determination, and such independence is difficult to envision in the near future. This is not only a problem of lack of resources--human and natural--but one of insufficient technical assistance. Indians, whose values were not attuned to competetive capitalistic economics, have been ill prepared to pursue aggressively success in agriculture, business, or industry. This was demonstrated quite vividly in the issuance of the Land Allotment Act and Termination Act where governmental support was eliminated allowing the Indian to wallow in defeat and poverty. A century of dependence on federal government has increased rather than alleviated this problem.

Whatever steps are taken to lessen the Indians' financial problems must take into consideration the conflict between the rhetoric of self-determination and the inevitable reality of federal control of the "purse strings". The dispute between the militants who want total independence and the older conservative tribal leaders who fear "termination" present a basic conflict that cannot be resolved to everyone's satisfaction. The militants see the federal government as the "all powerful oppressor" holding to a total financial and bureaucratic control over Indian lives. The tribal leader sees the government as a provider of services and the watchdog of Indian sovereignty over their lands and governments. To some, the reservations themselves appear to be the greatest obstacles standing in the way of Indian independence. To others, Indian culture means inferiority to be given up together with the cultural enclaves and join the mainstream of white society where the benefits and rewards of that system can be received. Yet, to others, reservations are archives of remaining independence and the link to Indian tribal tradition, language, and tribal identity.[39]

The Kennedy to Ford Administrations have enunciated policies aimed at developing Indian human and natural resources on reservations while allowing Indians to control and administer federal assistance programs. Under the heading of self-determination, Indians have been encouraged to develop tribal resources free from the threat of termination of their special federal status. Since this goal coincided with the Nixon and Ford administration policies of decentralizing federal authority self-determination has achieved new momentum with a growing proportion of financial and operational responsibilities for Indian affairs being turned over to the tribes.[40]

Generally, the federal government spends approximately over a billion and a half dollars a year on programs directed towards Indians. President Ford has declared a mandate that Indians should receive heavier government financial support in order to sustain and promote Indian self-determination. Yet Indian earmarked funds were cut by 50 million for the new fiscal year 1975-76.

The concentration of federal monies means that the economics and social structure of reservations are heavily dominated by the federal presence. "The school systems, health systems, public works and public services are provided by federal dollars. Nearly half of all jobs held by Indians living within the reservation boundaries are government jobs. Three-fifths of all personal income of reservation Indians originate from the federal coffers."[41]

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[39] S.A. Levitan, & W.B. Johnston, Indian Giving, Federal Programs For Native Americans,(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1975),pp. 75-81.

[40] Ibid, pp. 65-70.

[41] Ibid, p. 70.

The federal dollar dominance obviously complicates the efforts that could allow Indian self-determination and control over their own lives. Moreover, it indicates that it is impossible to analyze the problems or conditions of reservation Indians independently of the federal programs designated to alleviate these problems. For Indians, far more than for any other group, socio-economic status is a federal responsibility and the success or failure of federal programs determines the quality of Indian lives.

Some "Indian experts" believe that something must be lost no matter how Indians approach the issue of self-determination. The optimists indicate that it is possible for the American Indian to achieve self-determination and still keep his life-style if he so chooses.[42]

As indicated above, Native Americans are asking for the right to be "Indian" in a society which often does not tolerate or encourage differentness. In order to accomplish this goal, many of the stereotypes and misconceptions which continue to exist regarding Native Americans will need to be recognized and dealt with. Recognition must also be given to the uniqueness of the individual Indian tribes and the valuable contributions made available to the world through efforts of the Native Americans.

Many detrimental consequences have been felt by Native Americans as a result of their relationships with Europeans in the settlement of the United States of America. The disruption of Native American culture. Their removal to reservations, the attempts at forced assimilation, and the broken treaties and unfulfilled promises have contributed greatly to the Native American's distrust of the white man and subsequent poor relationships.

Most of the legislation pertaining to Native Americans has been designed to accomplish the Anglo desire for assimilation. The Native American response thereto has been discouraging, to say the least, from the Anglo point of view. Greater understanding and acceptance of Native Americans led to more positive legislation during the 60's and 70's, with emphasis upon Native American self-determination.

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[42] Ibid.

Native Americans want the opportunity to identify and deal responsively with their general and specific problems, particularly in the areas of health, education, economics, and political needs with emphasis of cultural heritage and "Indianness".

At this time, many believe that the future of the Native American is positive and under self-direction. American Indians can continue their development if allowed the freedom and responsibility to plan and direct their own tribal and general Native American affairs.

As Josephy so aptly stated: "In a rapidly diminishing world, the future of the Indians on both continents is one of accelerating acculturation. But complete and final assimilation is still so remote a prospect as to make certain the Indians' own pronouncement: We are here, and we will be here for many generations yet to come".[43]

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

Education and employment opportunities are being made available to Indians in both urban and rural areas, therefore there is increased mobility. Social service agencies, therefore, are finding more American Indians among their consumers. In order to be more effective in our work with Native Americans, social workers should strive for greater understanding of American Indian historical background, cultural values and present day situations.

Enhancing Therapeutic Relationships

American Indians are becoming more assertive in demanding equal rights and opportunities. This assertiveness is not often expressed in ways which are understandable to non-Indian social workers. The American Indian client requires acceptance both as a person; and as an Indian person. Unfortunately, American Indians often feel that the dominant Anglo society perceives cultural "difference" as "inferiority". If such an attitude is reflected in the social work therapeutic relationship, the American Indian client will reject the efforts of the social worker. Acquiring an understanding of the Indian client as an individual, the client's perception of self and culture and the purpose for which the client is seeking professional help may require a long term investment on the part of the clinician. This extended time investment is essential if the social worker is to be of assistance to the Native American client.

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[43] A.M. Josephy, Jr., The Indian Heritage of America,(New York: A. Knopf, 1968).

Social Welfare Policies

The historical treatment of Native Americans coupled with both federal and social welfare policies enacted on behalf of Indians have met with resistance and disappointment from Native Americans. Such policies have often worked to the detriment of American Indians. Because of these past experiences it is difficult for Native American people to trust the non-Indian social workers and the agencies they represent. The new policies of "self-determination" presently adopted by government agencies also raise questions among American Indian people. To what extent have Native Americans been prepared for assuming "self-determination" responsibilities? Will "self-determination" be another "token" policy with little benefit for Native Americans?

One of the roles of a professional social worker is that of interpreting and clarifying existing policies; suggesting viable alternatives; helping identify leadership and potential leadership among American Indian people; seeing that programs and policies are enacted "at the pace of the client", and supporting American Indians who assume leadership roles on policy making boards and committees. Such procedures may be time consuming, but will result in more effective policy decisions which take into consideration the needs, interests and abilities of the Native American people.

Human Behavior In The Social Environment

Today a number of stereotypes persist regarding American Indians, many of which are incorrect and short-sighted, to say the least. Some examples of these stereotypes include: Indians are oil rich; lazy, drunken; unproductive; good with their hands, but not with their head; and on the government dole. In the media we often see the American Indian pictured as a stoic, dour, long-suffering, war-bonneted, proud, war-like, sly ward of the government, with a language full of "hows", "ughs", and "ums". In order to combat these stereotypes, our social work curriculi must include more accurate descriptions of Indians, their history, current lifestyles, special problems, needs, and strengths.

Additional information should be made available in regard to the generic values of Native Americans, as well as their specific tribal differences. For example, the values of Native Americans are interwoven throughout their culture, lifestyle, religion, and daily living activities. One way in which the tribal values are reinforced is through the use of ceremonies. These ceremonies are held for specific purposes related to the reinforcement of the values of the culture.

Another Native American value is evidenced by the fact that Native Americans continue to maintain a feeling of reverence for their family, tribe, and homeland. For those Indians who have been reared on reservations it is difficult to leave and maintain a permanent residence away from "home". Family traditions are important to daily living satisfactions. Annual "dances" or "pow-wows" are specific events for the gathering of the tribe. Family activities such as the fishing activities in Alaska are opportunities for family members to reminisce and renew their family ties while participating in a necessary family and tribal custom. For this reason it is often difficult for Indians to live and work away from their reservation or homeland for long periods of time.

Traditional Indian families maintain high cultural expectations of family members. While it is true that most Native Americans value individuality, yet they continue to adhere to, and reinforce, the religious and ceremonial observances of their tribe. For such occasions it is important that family members return home to participate with the family. Funerals, "curing rites", and tribal celebrations are very important occurrences and merit the attendance of all who can possibly participate.

Communication Problems in Working with American Indians

Many American Indians are bilungual while many older Indians are non-English monolinguals. Among those who are bilingual are many who lack confidence in their ability to express themselves adequately in the English language. It is important, therefore, that a social worker speak slowly and distinctly. The use of a professional vocabulary will detract from the therapeutic relationship.

Another communication problem area may be depicted by the fact that some American Indian young people have been told by their parents and grandparents not to talk to, look at, or associate with non-Indians. Some Athapaskan Indians in Alaskan villages refer to white people as "spirits who have come to destroy them". Even though many Indians intellectually see that non-Indians have been helpful, they still maintain fears and hostilities and the desire to avoid interaction with Anglos. One Alaskan Native with whom the author is acquainted, indicated that he was 13 years of age when he first met a white man. During his early years he had worked, hunted, fished and trapped with his father in the "bush" country. He had heard many frightening stories about white people. When his father took him to Fort Yukon and he met his first white person, he was so frightened that he literally fell to the ground. He could neither walk nor talk because of the tremendous fear that had been transmitted to him from stories he had heard about white people. It is difficult indeed to forget or negate stories or experiences which have been shared with you by significant people in your life. It is important to discuss such concerns with Indian clients and to recognize the difficult circumstances under which they sometimes come for social work services.

Many American Indians have been taught to relate to new situations in a passive way. The passive aggressive client often forces an interviewer to ask questions where responses can be given in a "yes" or "no" monosyllibic answer. Eager interviewers often ask too many questions at once, or ask Native Americans to respond to two different things at the same time. A bilingual client has a difficult time responding to questions which are asked in the negative such as "You don't feel comfortable in a new situation, do you?" Clients will often respond to such questions with a "yes" when they really mean "no". Social workers can be more effective with passive aggressive clients if silence is not a "fearsome" element of the interview, and if the pace of the interview can be such that it motivates the client to respond more as the interview progresses.

With American Indians, it is not uncommon to over-estimate the relationship in the beginning stages of our work, and to underestimate the relationship in the termination phase of our work. Being able to check out "where the client is" will be an important part of the therapeutic process. Because of some bilingual client's limited vocabulary, social workers often misinterpret their communications. It is not uncommon for young American Indians to ask how long they "have to come" to see a social worker, when what they are really asking is "will this experience be long enough and important enough for me to risk getting involved?" Clarifying the purposes for our intervention and understanding the level of commitments of our clients will assist social workers in more accurately interpreting the level of the relationship.

It is also helpful for the social worker to assume a large part of the responsibility for the communication process. The social worker may say, "Sometimes I don't express myself clearly. Did you understand what I said? Do I sometimes use words you don't understand? Will you tell me when I do?" If these messages are sincere, Indian people will more than likely respond in ways which will facilitate the communication process.

Another important consideration in the area of communication concerns the way in which Indian people perceive their individual responsibility. Native Americans have often been taught that they are to resolve individual problems on their own. This attitude could be a tangible limiting factor in the establishment of a therapeutic relationship.

At times Indian people see themselves as unique individuals who only have the right to express personal opinions. It is therefore difficult for them to individually comment upon such questions as "How do Indians (as a group) feel about 'some significant event' affecting Indian people?" On the other hand, Indians will often respond generally to collective views about their culture. They will tell you, for example, that traditional Indians feel a real reverence toward the land. However, the sharing of such values and beliefs will depend to a large degree upon the relationship and the feelings of trust one is able to establish within the therapeutic relationship.

The recruitment of Indian staff and professional people who can help interpret some of the values, problems and goals of our Indian clients would be an asset to our social service agencies. American Indian consultants can also be helpful.

American Indian Identity

An American Indian maintains identity as an individual, a member of a family, a member of a tribe, (perhaps as a member of a clan) and as an

American Indian. There are many elements of this identity which are also complicated by such factors as traditional or reservation Indians compared to more acculturated or urban Indians. Identity questions are often asked such as, "Where do I fit in? Which models do I emulate? How do I see and feel about myself as an individual, a member of a tribe, and an American Indian?" These are often difficult questions particularly for the Indian adolescent or young adult. Concentrated time and effort are required to help Indians sort through the many ramifications of their feelings of self-acceptance, pride and identity.

Social Work Practice

As mentioned earlier, it is not unusual to overestimate the strength of a beginning relationship when working with American Indian people. One social group worker arbitrarily changed the group activity for the day because of unfavorable weather conditions. When he informed the group members of the reasons for the change all of the group members left indicating that they did not believe what he was telling them. They had no problems with participating in an outdoor activity in inclement weather. It required several individual visits from this group worker to re-establish the group.

When utilizing casework with American Indians the relationship building aspect assumes heightened importance. Basic understanding of Indian culture is necessary. Casework goals often include working with more of the "tangible" aspects of the Indian client's problem. Assertive casework is emphasized because American Indians rarely ask for help. Continued reaching out is important when appointments are missed or when the professional service rendered does not meet the expectation of the Indian client.

In conducting groups with American Indians an activity focus can be utilized successfully, particularly with young people and the aged. However, some tribes believe that if plans are made for a particular event, it will not take place. It is, therefore, not uncommon for groups to be hesitant about planning a special event even though they would like to participate in the activity. They fear that such planning may result in the activity's not being accomplished.

Family therapy sessions with many Indian families may involve participation from extended family members, members of the clan, and others. The family sessions are often very informal in nature and may require longer periods of time to achieve the desired goals. The work accomplished, however, will be with the knowledge and support of a larger number of significant people.

Community organization processes may require long-term investments as well. Families, clans and representatives from tribes will seek involvement in decisions which will affect them as a unit. Concensus for community programs and activities is still often sought by many American Indians. The time involved to achieve such concensus is not an important issue with Native Americans. With the establishment of a boys' home on one Southwest Indian Reservation, several months were involved in working with many factions of the Indian community. When that home was initiated, it was accomplished with the support, interest, and sanction of that community. It continues to operate successfully and thus serves a most important and viable function.

Alcoholism and American Indians

Alcoholism is the number one major health, racial and mental health problem affecting American Indians. The major barrier to providing service for the alcoholic Indian is the non-Indian's reluctance to treat him. The caseworker is often frustrated in attempts to work with the Indian alcoholic, they lack basic knowledge and training with respect to Indian culture and lifestyles. Another complication is the attitude that the Indian alcoholic is beyond help due to the chronic nature of the drinking, and the belief that Indians have an innate physical and chemical difference in their bodies. These misconceptions make it difficult for some caseworkers to deal with the alcoholic client in a knowledgeable and effective manner.

Most Indian alcoholics do not respond to the usual treatment methods and workers become discouraged. After investing much time and effort they find that the Indian continues to drink despite promises to remain sober. Often the worker interprets this as rejection, lack of gratitude, or lack of self-control on the part of the alcoholic. The overly sensitive Indian sees the worker's awkwardness as rejection with judgmental overtones. The therapeutic relationship never becomes established--the alcoholic continues to deny and evade the realities and responsibilities of his drinking problem.

The basic problem in this situation is that the worker does not understand the client's illness nor the nature of the Indian alcoholic with regard to his cultural background. In studying case histories, it is found that a predominant number of Indian alcoholics have never experienced security, self-confidence, self-respect, self-power, feelings of adequacy, or meaning in their lives. They have difficulty forming satisfying relationships with people. It is also found that Indians have been rejected because of institutional racism at an early age. This is particularly prominent in educational systems, employment services, social service agencies, and the military service.

Indians resent their dependency upon federal and state agencies which has demoralized their families and communities. Past history and policies directed to the Indian have encouraged attitudes and feelings of inadequacy which often lead to self-defeating behavior patterns.

The Indian views the taking away of alcoholic beverages or the maintenance of sobriety as an elimination of an euphoric means of escape. Drinking is one way in which the Indian hopes to gain temporary relief from his economic, social and personal problems.

Treatment methods should be task centered. Social workers should continue to reach out to Indian clients with understanding and sensitivity of the problems mentioned above. Specific tangible goals which the Indian client can realistically achieve should be sought.

In the past five years approximately 60 Indian alcoholism counseling and treatment centers have been opened in reservation and urban areas. The most successful centers are those which utilize the recovery house format. Treatment houses provide clients with opportunities to participate in Indian pow-wows, art, recreation and religious activities. Counseling is largely provided by Indian counselors who help clients evaluate and work on alcoholism and related family, community and tribal problems.

Working with Indian Youth Today

Among the questions American Indian youth are asking themselves today are, "Who am I?" "Where am I going?" "Is it good to be Indian?" "Will I be able to be an Indian and be self-sufficient and self-reliant?"

Indian youth have often experienced racism because of their skin color and their culture. This is especially true of those living near reservations. Being able to discuss these feelings is especially important to them.

Poverty, drugs, reservation and/or urban living, boarding schools, foster homes, and juvenile detention facilities all play a part in the self-image of Indian youth today. Alcoholism and its related problems also affect Indian youth today. When alcoholism is a problem, unique counseling techniques with American Indian youth similar to those identified earlier can be utilized. Also, it is important for Indian young people to know what alternatives are available to them in terms of counseling, living arrangements, education, employment and future goals.

The provision of positive models is important to Indian young people.

Who are the models that American Indian youth look to today? Are they fathers, brothers, uncles, sisters, aunts, or other young people. Who are models for American Indian youth in urban settings? What are future goal orientations of American Indian youth?

The experiences Indian youth have in their families also play an important part in their identity. Many parents provide purposeful tasks for their children which help instill within them cultural identification. Many families emphasize and recognize positively the pride of Indian identity. All of these factors must be considered in helping deal with their feelings of identity.

Aged American Indians

Very little is known about the collective problems, needs and resources of American Indian aged today. Some beginning programs have proved very successful in reservation and urban areas, especially when they capitalize on provision of meaningful activities for American Indian aged. Some of the obstacles to meeting the needs of American Indian aged are lack of transportation, lack of physical facilities, and insufficient funding. A great deal of attention needs to be directed toward provision of services to Native American aged.

Research

Very little research exists relating to Native Americans. Some suggested topics for future research include: What are Generic American Indian Values; Indian Families and Their Cultural Roles; What are Effective Models to be Utilized in Social Work Practice with Native Americans; What are the Needs and Interests of American Indian Aged; What are the Strengths of American Indian People: What are Educational Models which can be Utilized in Enhancing Education Across the Continuum for American Indian Students; How Does One Evaluate Self-Concept--Individual, Tribal, and Indian: What are the Effects of Modeling Upon American Indian Youth; Decision Making

Patterns; Implementing a Model for Self-Determination; What are the Causes of Alcoholism, and What are the Most Effective Programs to Combat this Problem?

Recommendations

A number of recommendations have been made to increase the effectiveness of social work intervention. Included in these are the following:

> Schools of social work should provide academic and practice opportunities for students to work with Native Americans.
>
> Schools of social work should emphasize recruitment, retention, and training of Native Americans for social work at all levels.
>
> Research should be conducted in order to alleviate stereotypes of American Indians.
>
> Research could also help identify strengths, current situations affecting American Indians and the complexities of the "Indian problems".
>
> Research of an experimental nature could help develop social work models for intervention. Does social work intervention make a difference, and if so, in what ways and to what extent?

Employment of American Indian social workers with M.S.W. degrees in all levels of social work could provide models for other American Indian youth, promotion of self-determination, and more effective programming and services.

Throughout our work with American Indians, let us emphasize choice. In order to do so, we must work with Native American clientele in cooperative efforts and creatively provide for innovations together.

LEGISLATION, POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECT ON NATIVE AMERICANS

Among the most significant legislation affecting Native Americans is the following:

1783 -- *Congress issued a proclamation which warned non-Indians against* squatting upon Indian land. (This proclamation was largely ignored.)

1785 -- A clause in a treaty permitted the Cherokees to send a representative to the Congress. (This was never, in fact, accomplished.)

1789 -- Article One, Section 8 of the Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes and indicated that the federal government had power to make treaties with Indian tribes. (Individual states and non-Indians largely acted according to their own desires.)

1789 -- The Secretary of the War Department was given responsibility relative to Indian Affairs. (Little attention was given to the "needs" of the Native American through this department.)

1790 -- Congress licensed traders to deal with Indians and regulate the sale of firearms and liquor. (This regulation was largely handled to the detriment of the Native Americans.)

1824 -- The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established. (There are many and varied opinions regarding the efficacy of this decision.)

1830 -- President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act which provided for the forced emigration of all Indians to territory west of the Mississippi River in what is now known as Oklahoma. The Indians were to receive aid in their removal and initial adjustments to their homes. (Such emigration, however was accomplished poorly, unfairly, and with many injustices. The Native Americans lost many beautiful homes, land which represented many cultural and religious ties, their security and self-esteem. The new land to which they were moved was inferior to their homelands. Promised compensation did not become a reality.)

1834 -- Congress enacted two laws. One, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act which defined Indian country and strengthened the government's role in working with Indians. Two, the Indian Reorganization Act, which revised the administration of Indian affairs and allowed for payments and reimbursements of land to be made to Chiefs of Tribes instead of individuals. (This strengthened tribal roles, but resulted in some inequitable division of the monies awarded.)

1849 -- The Department of Interior was formed with the Bureau of Indian Affairs included in this Department. With each Indian uprising; the Army was again brought into activity.

1854 -- Twelve treaties were established by the federal government which resulted in the loss of 18 million acres of Native American land. Indians were left with less than 1,500,000 acres of their previous land allotments.

1863 -- The Homestead Act was passed which permitted Anglo occupation of many of the Midwestern areas inhabited by Plains Indians. (This resulted in a great number of Indian uprisings in defense of their desire to continue their cultural pattern of mobility.)

1887 -- The Dawes General Allotment Act was passed, which gave each Native American his own private lot of land and encouraged the farming thereof. Each Native American family was awarded 160 acres, and each single adult male, 80 acres. This acreage was to be held in trust for 25 years. At the end of that time, the Indians could sell or lease their land as they chose. After alloting the land, whatever acreage was left over was declared surplus and offered for sale to whites. At the time of this legislation, there were 188 million acres of land in Indian control. In 1932, Indians possessed 47 million acres, which meant a total of 141 million acres had passed to Anglos. Much of the Indian-owned land was deemed too poor to farm. The better acreage was often leased or sold to Anglos at bargain prices. The purpose of this Allotment Act was to 'speed up' the process of assimilation. It was felt that land ownership would acculturate the Native American. The Native American also felt that its purpose was to provide additional land for the Anglos, as was demonstrated by the sale of surplus land to whites in initial stages of the Allotment Act, and in the subsequent loss of land by the sale thereof to Anglos by Native Americans. Many Native Americans did not understand the meaning of ownership of land. They often sold their land for ridiculously low prices, and were left penniless, and without recourse.

1924 -- The Snyder Act conferred citizenship on all Indians. (In 1940, seven states still barred Indians from voting. It was not until 1948 that all states allowed Indians the right to vote.)

1934 -- The Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act was passed following a thorough investigation by Lewis Meriam of Indian conditions throughout the country. Because of the deplorable findings, the following recommendations were implemented:

1. The allotment policy was terminated.
2. Tribal self-government was encouraged.
3. Financial credit was extended to Tribes to improve their economic conditions.
4. Provisions for improved educational and medical facilities were instituted.
5. Restoration was made of the Indian's right to freedom of religion.
6. A return of emphasis upon the right of American Indians to their cultural heritage and beliefs was encouraged.

W.W. II -- 25,000 American Indians served in the Armed Forces. The contributions they made, together with their ability to function in the Anglo society, led many of them to seek more involvement with the dominant culture and to encourage the same for their children.

1946 -- The Indian Claims Commission was formed to hear claims of American

Indians for injustices or wrongs committed against them. By 1970 the Indian Claims Commission had heard 158 cases. Payments had been made in the amount of $341 million. There were 160 claims that had been refused, and 290 were still pending. One of the interesting commentaries about this Commission was that initially the funds awarded therefrom were designated to be used in preparation for termination of all federal services to Native Americans. It would appear at this time that greater emphasis upon such claims has increased positive Indian identity and opportunities for more viable tribal activities.

1950's --Assimilation was the goal of much of the legislation passed in the 1950's.

1953 -- Two legislative actions were passed. One granted states jurisdiction over criminal and civil matters on reservations without approval of tribes. In the second, the federal government voiced its intent to terminate federal relations with tribes as quickly as possible. In an attempt to accomplish these goals, a number of tribes were terminated from federal relationships. These included the Klamaths of Oregon, the Menominees of Wisconsin, four bands of Paiutes, and some Utes of Utah, various western and Oregon tribes, the Alabamas, and the Coushattas. Their termination produced severe economic, cultural, and identity consequences. A "relocation" program was established in the 50's in which American Indians were encouraged to move to larger cities and receive on'the'job training in "trades". Many Native Americans, especially those with some previous experience in Anglo culture, were able to make adjustments to urban living with little difficulty. Others found loneliness, isolation, dissatisfaction with living conditions, and inability to adjust culturally to be greater than they could handle. Many of them lost their initial jobs, were relegated to inferior housing, and had little opportunity for identification with others from their culture.

1955 -- In 1955 the U. S. Public Health assumed responsibility for health services to the American Indians and upgraded services in this area.

1960's --The 1960's were more positive for American Indians. New programs of education were encouraged. (This may have been a result of the recommended transfer of the B.I.A. to the Department of H.E.W.) Vocational training, housing and economic development were encouraged. The Office of Economic Opportunity was established, and Indians were allowed opportunities for self-direction and initiation of self-help programs. The Area Redevelopment Act provided loans, grants, and technical assistance to depressed and underdeveloped areas including reservations.

1970's --Increased funding was allocated from federal budget sources. There have been increases in the appointments of Native Americans to high-level administrative positions in federal government.

Major land restorations have occurred for some Indian groups including Taos Pueblos, Yakimas, Alaskan Natives, Tonto Apaches and Menominee Country in Wisconsin was restored to federal trust status.

The Office of Indian Rights was created in the Justice Department in April 1972. H.E.W. created an Indian Desk in the Justice Department in April 1972. H.E.W. created an Indian Desk in the Office of Native American Programs. The Labor Department created a new office of Indian Manpower Programs. The Department of Housing and Urban Development created special Indian programs.

The Smithsonian Institute inaugurated its "Indian Awareness Program".

Special problems and needs requiring attention currently are programs for urban Indians, programs to replace the O.E.O. operations, and additional opportunities for Indian self-determination and responsibility.

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COMMENTARY

Florence Clemenger, D.S.W.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwards have presented us with a generalized overview on American Indians: content on their history and culture, changing Federal Policies and their affect on Native Americans as individuals, families and group, and finally the implications of the above content knowledge for use in social work practice. To the extent that the above coverage topographically was extensive, it is understandable that the depth in any one area could not be achieved. Thus one of the questions raised is why the authors chose breadth at the expense of depth of content?

There is in the paper a greater focus on similiarities than differences in the Native American cultures, life styles and values as these evolve from the different tribes. Yet we are cautioned by other authors, particularly Farris, against "ignoring the diversity and heterogenity of the more than three hundred distinct Indian tribal cultures."[1]

To what degree, then, can those elements that are described as commonalities in this paper be used by social workers in practice when the importance of differences of tribal cultures and heterogeniety play such an important part in understanding Native American cultures? To the extent that commonalities of values and cultures are emphasized in this paper, differences are not stressed thus providing the reader and social workers with perhaps a distorted view and knowledge base that a greater emphasis on differences might have corrected. The concept of cultural pluralism takes on additional significance when both intra-cultural differences can be highlighted as well as commonalities.

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[1] Charles E. Farris, "A White House Conference on the American Indian," Social Work, Vol. 18, No. 1 (January 1973) pp. 83

The major strength of this paper is in the extensive historical documentation of United States American-Indian Policy through the years beginning in 1783 to the present time. This content provides us with a chronicled indictment of "man's inhumanity to man" from the Policy of Extermination to Expulsion, then Exclusion (segregation on reservations) to Assimilation, and to the current polic of Self-determination with its companion requisite of economic independence so that self-determination is possible. The general effects of each changing policy on the values, life-style, family and tribal structure are discussed. In addition to the contribution this historical documentation makes to our social work knowledge, for the Anglo such a chronicle means coming to grips again with "white guilt" in the recognition and inheritance of past injustices, and the Anglo's responsibility for current and future actions both personally and professionally.

The paper points to the Native American's feelings and negative attitudes toward Europeans and the desire to avoid interaction with Anglos. How these conflicts and attitudes are to be resolved is not addressed in this paper particularly in the area of social work practice.

The knowledge about common values, life-styles and structures, and the changing American Indian Policy and its effect on the Native American have implications for social work practice, especially within the context of the mobility of Native American into urban and rural areas. This poses the question of how this knowledge can be integrated in the various areas of the social work curriculum: Human Behavior and Social Environment, Social Welfare Policy, Research, and various methodologies of Social Work Practice. Implications for social work practice and curriculum are described by the authors in an attempt to integrate content and knowledge of the Native American into the various areas of the social work curriculum. However, this area (Part C) appears to be weak, fragmented and lacking in coordination.

A survey of the Social Work Journals since 1956 indicates only three articles concerning the Native-American.[1,2,3] The paucity of articles exemplified by this survey attests to the social worker's lack of knowledge and practice experience with Native Americans. It highlights the contribution that the authors of this paper on American Indians have made to our knowledge irrespective of the criticisms and questions that this reactor poses concerning this paper.

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[1] Charles E. Farris, "A White House Conference on the American Indian," Social Work, Vol. 18, No. 1 (January 1973), pp 80-86.

[2] Jimm G. Good Tracks, "Native American Non-interference," Social Work, Vol. 18, No. 6 (November 1973), pp. 30-34.

[3.] Herbert H. Locklear, "American Indian Myths," Social Work, Vol. 17, No. 3 (May 1972, pp. 72-80.

COMMENTARY

Marta Sotomayor, D.S.W.

Appropriately so Dr. Edwards begins his presentation by emphasizing the many differences, cultural and linguistic, that exists among the Native Americans. For indeed, such differences lie at the heart of the matter as one attempts to understand who is an Indian.

The exploration of such question brings to mind the dialogue that took place in the 1954 California State Senate Interim Committee on Indian Affairs during a series of hearings throughout the state to determine the effect of several bills pending in the U. S. Congress related to terminating federal services for the California Indians. After many hours of testimony the committee had to deal with the inevitable question: Who is an Indian?

The Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs simply stated: "It is not possible under our multiplicity of laws and regulations to define an Indian. You have to look to the purpose for which you are trying to define an Indian - for some purposes an Indian must be a quarter blood or more - I just don't think there is any definition that you can give to an Indian. He is an Indian for some purposes and for other purposes he isn't an Indian, so there just isn't any clear definition."[1]

To understand this dilemma one must deal with the semantic problem. We know that Columbus failed to reach the Indies, or India, and mistakingly called the native population of this continent Indians and by such a mistake - among many others - confusion has existed regarding the many Native Americans.

The confusion is further compounded when one examines the impact of the

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[1] Forbes D. Jack, Ed., The Indian in American Past. (Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1964) p 2.

Spanish connotation of Indian - particularly in the Southwest and the rest of the Americas - for the term Indian does not refer to ethnic stock but to persons following a tribal or folk way of life. In the territories where the Spanish and Portuguese influence is strong an Indian who moves away from his village and subsequently behaves in the same manner as the majority population ceases to be an Indian.[2]

In the territories with Anglo-Saxon influence the confusion again is compounded as the term Indian is variously used to refer to a racial group, a legal concept, a sociocultural group, and a caste. Even if we refer to the Indian as Tribal Americans or categorize and understand their uniqueness according to tribal connections we know that many modern tribes have been the creation of the conquering governments.[3]

Further, the Native Americans are themselves the result of ancient inter-ethnic relations and were not a uniform group when the European invaders arrived. Not only were the indigenous Americans divided into a number of diverse linguistic and cultural groups but these groups also had distinct physical characteristics. Important as it is to understand the origins of the Native American, it is impossible to trace the history of over 20,000 or more years to determine the amalgamation of so many diverse stocks.

What is more important is to deal with the last 400 years of European conquest and colonization and the effect upon present conditions encountered by Native Americans. The last 400 years of history is characterized by the application of policies and procedures that project the colonizers' perceptions of this population group and their efforts to take advantage and obtain what they sought. For example, the Spanish officials saw the Native Americans as a source of labor while the Church perceived the Native as the infidel who needed to be converted to Christianity. The system of repartimiento, land grants, and Encomiendas, appointment of Indians, as well as the establishment of the missions reflects these points of view.

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[2] Ibid., p. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 3.

To the French, the Native American was a childlike and disorganized creature who needed to be coaxed, scolded, punished and impressed. In contrast to the Spanish and Portuguese, the French Missionaries used only persuasive methods to convert them to Christianity. The Indian played a most significant role in the development of the French fur trade, a transaction in which they cooperated and collaborated.

Dutch policy, while not uniform, followed some clear-cut lines; for example, they tended to live apart from the Indians, physically as in two separate cultures, with little effort to do missionary work. There was almost no intermarriage and not much miscegenation primarily due to racial prejudice.

The English policy reflects a general attitude of hostility toward the Native American. Intermarriage and miscegenation was strongly discouraged. When it became clear that the Indian would not give up its cultural ties and styles, he became to the English an undesirable creature and a foreigner, an obstacle that stood in the way of securing whatever the Englishman wanted that the Indians had.[4]

In modern times the obliteration of the Native American has been carried out through the creation and perpetuation of negative stereotypes that undermine the self-concept and feelings of worth of this group. The understanding of the psychological subtleties, the complexity, and the insidiousness of the dynamics of stereotypes is central in the process of reconstruction of conquered populations, for we know that the image that one ethnic group has of another ethnic group is crucial in the understanding of the confrontations of two groups. As that image dominates the thinking of one group about another attitudes and policies are developed based primarily upon mythology rather than fact. If these images are derogatory, inevitably the actions taken towards that group will be damaging and degrading.

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[4] Tyler, Lyman S., A History of Indian Policy. U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C. 1973. pp 19-29.

The attitudes conveyed through stereotypes are indeed reflected in the policies that are established for those particular groups. Thus, as applied to the Native American and other conquered groups one can identify two different levels of policy; one being at the verbal "legalistic" level and the other being the basic underlying policy of conquest. The policy of conquest becomes exposed when we realize that all of the coersive policies adopted by the federal governments of the conquerors from 1870 to 1928, at least, were strictly illegal since they were in violation of the 14th, as well as the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 10th and 12th Amendments. This much of the U. S. Native American policy has been based upon a nonexistent legal base, less so upon a moral base.

Indian rights stated in treaties and laws and explicated in court decisions are still not being adequately protected by federal agencies. Government procedures continue to emphasize the rights of individual Indians at the expense of solidarity of their communities and tribes. As individuals, the Native Americans are relocating and being relocated into urban areas where too many of them face unemployment, poverty and isolation. The Indian problem has been, and continues to be, the ideological and political problem of the United States. Thus, in order to resolve it we must deal with it in terms of ideological and political spheres. Policy formulation, policy implementation, policy analysis could begin to deal with some of these issues.

Even though these dynamics are implied in Dr. Edwards' (and wife) presentation, they are not highlighted. He left out of his discussion a number of significant events, forces, dynamics, structures, mechanisms, and their diverse functions, uses, and misuses that reflect some ideological positions of the European conqueror. From a description of the diversity of lifestyles and values as well as commonalities of the various Native American groups, he jumps into a discussion of policies such as extermination, expulsion, exclusion, assimilation, relocation, termination and self-determination, among others. Again, in an excellent descriptive fashion, but weak in analytical perspectives.

At this point in history, I am not too sure if the profession of Social Work has the necessary armamentarium to deal with the complex issues of conquered peoples simply because we understand so little of the dynamics and consequences of military conquest and action that often infringe upon people's civil and legal rights. One of the main values of this presentation is to point out the need to explore further the meaning of the Native American experience as well as the possible roles that Social Work practice could play in the solution of the many problems encountered by this population group.

SOCIAL WORK IN A CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC SOCIETY: AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM

Antonia Pantoja, Ph.D. and Wilhelmina Perry, Ph.D.*

Throughout the nation, proponents of cultural pluralism are advocating a more humane society based on a value premise and value-goal that supports the development of pluralistic communities within the United States. In an effort to extend the civil and human rights movements into the future of our nation, these scholars, practitioners and community members are combining energies and resources to identify and define the processes by which we, as a society, can realize our basic commitments to all people.

The Search for Meaning

The cultural pluralism movement is another expression of individuals efforts to secure personal meaning within the context of the "American Dream." Because the world in which we live is characterized by increasing societal stress and the destruction of necessary systems of support, people are seeking a sense of belonging through group affiliations. Racism, sexism, unplanned growth, economic inflation, political uncertainty and technological growth have aggravated the problems of human development and personal fulfillment. The sense of belonging that was once possible within a physical community is no longer possible because neighborhoods have been destroyed by zoning regulations, political gerrymandering, transportation arteries and other circumstances that disperse populations.

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During the sixties many persons flocked to the popular encounter groups expecting social and personal gratification and lasting meaningful connections. In spite of the numerous groups, most people continued to experience a sense of alienation, isolation and powerlessness. The search for meaning continues to persist as people attempt to create new institutional systems and processes to address their needs. As a result, a series of new communities are emerging. Noticeable among these new communities, along with the ethnics of color, are white ethnics, the physically disabled, the aged, homosexuals, women, new religious groups and other groups differentiated by alternative life styles. These new groups no longer seek to resolve the conditions of loneliness and alienation through traditional therapeutic methods. The effort is now made to build new relationships and institutions more capable of meeting human needs.

In the past, our country's most prominent cultural groups of white and non-white ethnics have had varying degrees of success in preserving their cultural heritages. Because we live in a society that has valued an idealized model of the individual with clearly stated preferences for age, color, religious affiliations, social status and national origins, those who do not meet the specifications have been systematically excluded by racism, sexism and age discrimination. These old and new groups are no longer willing to deny their cultural dimensions. Definitions of human needs, wants and desires are being redefined in the context of cultural specifics and the groups' particular life orientations, styles and circumstances. The ideology embraced by all these new communities explicitly values individual and collective growth objectives through supportive relationships among group members. Competition is rejected as a personal value in favor of processes and relationships that provide

> maintain the total system or any subsystem within a given range (stipulated effectiveness)...[2]

In the same context, cultural pluralism is defined as...

> A case where there is more than one set of cultural themes, information components and behavior styles exhibited and sanctioned within a society.[3]

The Cultural Pluralism Committee of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers describes cultural pluralism as...

> "A situation in society where individuals and groups can function successfully in one, two, or more languages and cultural styles and where individuals can abide by and function successfully adhering to different customs and religions, and to less crippling class and sexual stereotypes than those accepted today. It requires a society where no one race is preferred over another.[4]

Cultural pluralism, as a societal value and a societal goal, requires that the society permit the existence of multicultural communities that can live according to their own styles, customs, languages and values without penalty to their members and without inflicting harm upon or competing for resources among themselves. Cultural pluralism does not imply rigid barriers of psychological and physical separations. Since all groups are valued as one values one's own affiliations, interaction among cultural groups is valued and encouraged.

Because ethnic and cultural groups in America have experienced economic and political disenfranchisement, their proclamations of difference are frequently expressed in rage and hostility. As a result, cultural diversity has been associated with social conflict. Cultural pluralism, as presently defined, requires that we, as a society, acknowledge cultural differences and provide culturally different groups with the access and opportunities to develop in a society that values their positive attributes and characteristics. In a society that values cultural diversity, resources are made available for the development of human potential. Culturally different groups are not pitted against each other in an arena of limited resources. Rivalry and hostilities are reduced as groups are taught respect and appreciation, knowledge and interaction are the essential foundations of cultural pluralism.

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[2] Peggy R. Sanday, "The Application of the Concept of Cultural Pluralism to the United States Domestic Social Policy" (revised version of a paper presented at the 69th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropoligical Association, San Diego, California, November 1970).

[3] Peggy R. Sanday, "Cultural and Structural Pluralism in the U.S., a position paper for Committee on Cultural Pluralism of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, U.S. Office of Education.

[4] Cultural Pluralism Committee of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, "Introduction," Badges and Indicia of Slavery: Cultural Pluralism Redefined, (Nebraska 1975, XIII).

The Traditional Role of Social Work

Social work educators and practitioners have responded to each new cultural community with the usual cultural myopia. In order to understand why this cultural myopia persists, several explanations can be offered. As in the larger society, institutional racism and sexism have and continue to influence the teaching and practice of social work. Secondly, social work practice stresses individualism and self reliance over collective activity. Individual treatment and adjustment is valued over community organization and community development. Institutional racism, individualism and individually oriented treatment strategies will continue to diminish our effectiveness with groups that value a culturally pluralistic society.

In spite of the problems that persist, social work educators must be given recognition for their responses to groups represented in the civil rights movements. Many schools of social work now offer courses related to ethnics of color, the aged and other culturally different groups. However, we are still reluctant to add or include comprehensive course material that examines and addresses the values and knowledge deficiencies that reinforce students' cultural limitations. In the opinion of the writers, most social work courses and seminars only peripherally address the problem of cultural myopia. The understanding and appreciation of cultural differences is not an easy task, and it can only be accomplished by a systematic analysis of the existing values and content of social work education. The writers wish to present some of their observations regarding conceptual models of social work practice that impede a recognition and value of cultural diversity in social work practice.

The Traditional Model of the Person

In order to understand the persistence of cultural myopia in social work practice, it is necessary to understand the way in which the social work profession has assembled its knowledge for viewing the human person. Because we primarily borrow our knowledge from the psychological and biological theories, we present a model of the human person that emphasizes only two dimensions: the physiological and psychological (see Figure 1). The result has been a distorted view of the persons that we propose to serve.

As Carel Germain so aptly states:

> The ideology that developed over the years to justify the preference for the medical-disease model of practice obstructed change and closed off exploration of new themes in science and culture. In that sense, the medical metaphor and its ideology inhibited the potential adaptability of casework to achieve a fit with the new conditions of contemporary life...[5]

As long as our knowledge base selectively excludes theories and concepts from anthropology, history, philosophy, sociology, political science, religion, economics and other disciplines related to human behavior, we minimize the full appreciation of persons in their total functioning. We will continue to view and treat individuals as alienated and separated without an understanding of the significance of cultural and ethnic affiliations for personal

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[5] Carel B. Germain, "Social Casework," in Harleigh B. Trecker, Ed., Goals for Social Welfare, 1973-1933, (New York: Associated Press, 1973) p. 38 passim.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE CURRENT PARADIGM IN SOCIAL WORK

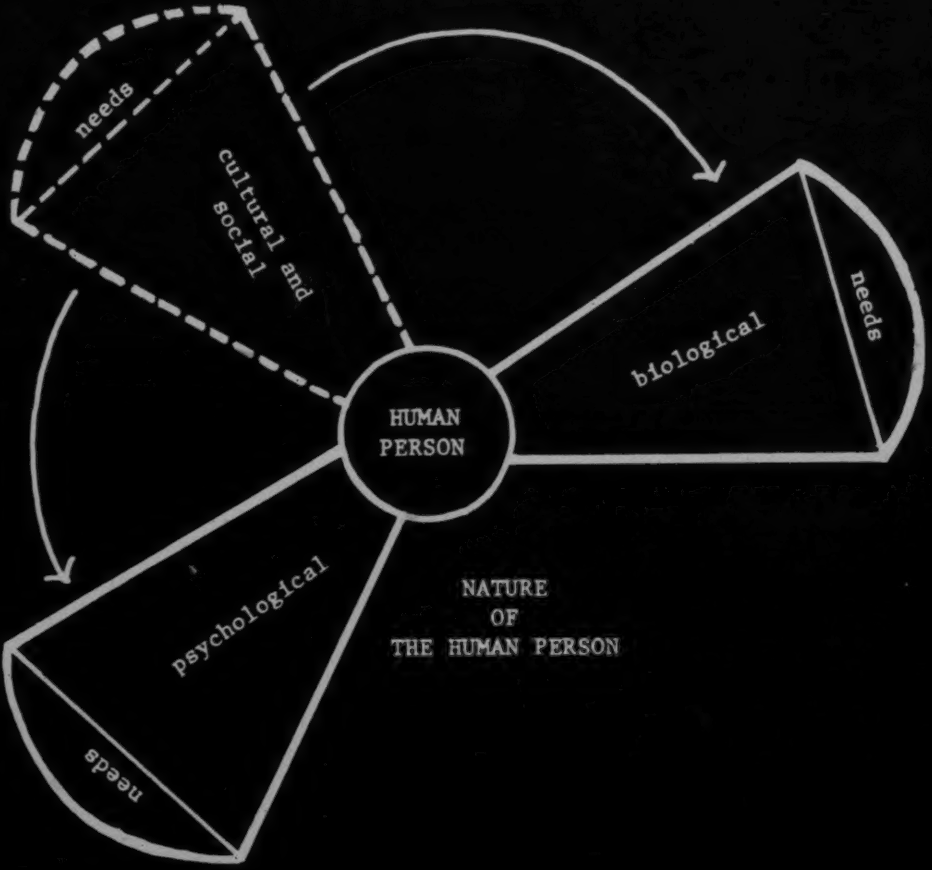
needs
cultural and social
needs
biological
HUMAN PERSON
psychological
needs
NATURE OF THE HUMAN PERSON

FIGURE 35

identity. The cultural communities, from which people come, will be prevented or hampered from developing their internal resources. The process of community development, for these new communities, will be impeded because social workers will not be given the knowledge and skills necessary to assist people in their efforts to maximize their capabilities, to create and sustain institutions essential to the community's functioning.

Because the identified model of the person is so systemic to social work practice, we have isolated this particular conceptual model to understand its consequences for social work education and social work practice. Although multiple theoretical philosophical and methodological orientations exist within our profession, one of the most widely formulated and implemented discipline matrixes continues to be the model of a two-dimensional person. Carol Meyer contends that it has been this orientation that has limited the practitioners' abilities to adopt new knowledge and less constricting views of people and their environment.[6]

It is this particular model that has directed the teaching and practice of social work, therefore the paradigm must be explicated as to its assumptions, beliefs, values, knowledge base and practice implications. Without this kind of analysis, our approaches to cultural differences will remain fragmented, inconsistent, and contradictory in their approach (see Table 1). We are aware of the current controversy questioning the applicability of Kuhn's thinking regarding paradigms in the social sciences. However, it is our belief that certain conceptual frameworks used by social workers perform the same function as paradigms and they must be identified as such.[7]

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[6] Carol H. Meyer, "Direct Services in New and Old Contexts," Shaping the New Social Work, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 38 passim.

[7] John D. Heyl, "Paradigms in Social Science," Transaction, July, August 1975, pp. 61-67.

TABLE I

FUNCTIONS OF THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL: THE TWO DIMENSIONAL PERSON

Establishment of a Common Reality & Philosophy	Knowledge Building	Selection of Strategies	Establishment of Legitimation
Code of ethics stresses individualism and self-responsibility. Personal freedom. Social welfare state is favored over self-help for communities. Social justice is accepted as a principle but there is no consensus on goals or strategies for implementation.	Since cultural, political & economic circumstances are minimized, research utilizes a "defective modeling" approach knowledge building & reality are viewed as universal	Practice strategies address psychological problems & favor intra-psychic explorations. Skills are seen as transcending cultures. Knowledge of history, culture, etc., is used to explain or treat psychological problems.	Certification of social workers in clinical practice (family counseling, marriage counseling) is given priority.

An Explanation of a Paradigm

Charles Hampden-Turner described a paradigm:

> . . .as the basic perceptual and conceptual assumptions behind a profession's world view and which it [the profession] translates into game plans for engaging the government, school and private sources of influence and funds.[8]

Norris Clement and John Pool, two economists, describe a paradigm as:

> . . .a general analytical framework, a general way of viewing the world, or a general orientation which is shared by a community of scholars engaged in research in a particular area of specialization.[9]

Paul A. Olson, an educator, identifies the basic characteristics and function of a paradigm:

> (1) A paradigm is a particular way of knowing, of going after the truth, consisting essentially of a science of commitment, adhering to a conceptual, theoretical, instrumental, methodological, and metaphysical frame of study for a scholar.
>
> (2) Knowledge is gained through the employment of the paradigm.
>
> (3) A paradigm is like a myth system of the inquiring community identifying the problem field, source of methods, standards, and the solutions that will be accepted by the professional community.
>
> (4) Normal science consists of working within the paradigm while permitting problem clarification and predictions without altering the accepted paradigm.[10]

It is important to understand the essence of the paradigm, since the paradigm becomes the master of the professional, utilized by him and not always known or conscious to him. Since the paradigm regulates and legitimates professional behavior, it can be expected that monitoring, accountability and feedback remain within the professional domain.

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[8] Charles Hampden-Turner, From Poverty to Dignity, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1975), pp. 35.

[9] Norris Clement and John Pool, Economics, (Mexico: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 4.

[10] Paul A. Olson, "Kuhn-Toulmin: Paradigm Changes and Changes in Educational Institutions," (a paper presented to the Study Commission or Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers at the June 14, 1974 Conference in South Hampton, New York), pp. 3-4, passim.

Many scientists and philosophers have studied the process by which scientific advancement occurs. In The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,[11] Thomas S. Kuhn identifies the processes of system maintenance and the processes of scientific revolutions. Kuhn contends that a community of scholars sharing a common set of theories, techniques, beliefs and values engages in continuous "mop-up work"-- research and writing for further articulation and specification of the paradigm. The group associated with the paradigm develops a scientific stance enabling them to control the field of knowledge by only permitting further study of (1) the class of facts that the paradigm has shown to be particularly revealing of the nature of things; (2) the class of factual determinations directed to those facts that can be compared with predictions from the paradigm theory (the existence of the paradigm sets the problem to be solved); (3) empirical work undertaken to articulate the paradigm theory, resolving some of its ambiguities and permitting the solution of problems to which it had previously only drawn attention.

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[11] Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW PARADIGM: FOUNDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In our minds, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that our traditional models are facing challenge. The medical-disease model, that emanates from the two-dimensional person, has been revealed as ineffective for responding to the total range of human need. In spite of our efforts to treat limited aspects of human functioning, we are being forced to address ourselves to the multidimensional dynamics of individuals functioning within a society. Culturally different groups are challenging social workers' right to impose values and set norms by the sanction of their professionalism and their expertise. Psychological and psychosocial models are being rejected by both social workers and clients in favor of more humanistic and wholistic models that attempt to explain human behavior. These new conceptual frameworks interface with the view of the human person as expressed in the cultural pluralistic movement.

The new paradigm that emerges represents the convergence of the ethnic, sexual and human rights movements. This new paradigm posits the human person as a multi-dimensional being who responds to and shapes the society in which he lives. This view of the human being is wholistic and acknowledges the multiple aspects of the human person as he/she functions within his/her communities affected by and affecting others in various processes of social exchange. The human person is viewed as a cultural, political, social, psychological, spiritual and biological being who shapes social institutions to reflect his/her needs and circumstances (see Figure 2). In fact, her/his dimensions, capabilities and potentials are seen as infinite. The primary relationships, community affiliations, and societal commitments are products and indications of current and future needs. The perception of the human person as a member of physical, cultural, social, emotional and political communities implies that her/his circumstances, needs and resources must be

A NEW PARADIGM FOR SOCIAL WORK

NATURE OF THE HUMAN PERSON IN SOCIETY

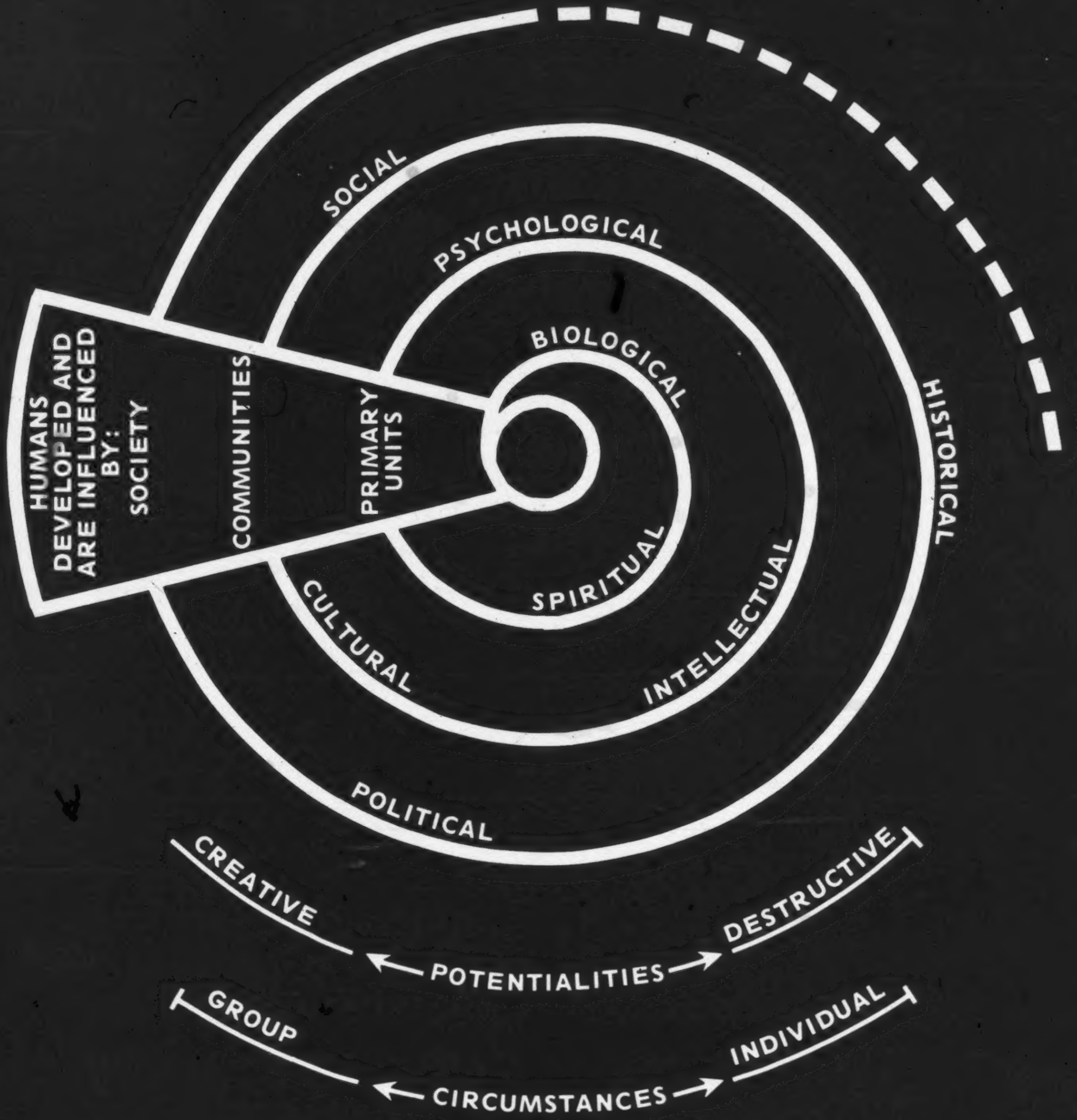
HUMANS DEVELOPED AND ARE INFLUENCED BY:
SOCIETY
COMMUNITIES
PRIMARY UNITS
SOCIAL
PSYCHOLOGICAL
BIOLOGICAL
SPIRITUAL
CULTURAL
INTELLECTUAL
HISTORICAL
POLITICAL
CREATIVE
DESTRUCTIVE
POTENTIALITIES
GROUP
INDIVIDUAL
CIRCUMSTANCES

FIGURE 2

viewed as intimately related to the conditions of others within her/his communities. Intervention(s) on behalf of the individual must become the companion to intervention(s) for his/her communities. The social work practice that develops from this perspective must embrace a value position that respects culture as an integral component of person identity and community development.

To conform to the new paradigm, social work practice must address the comprehensive needs of multi-dimensional human beings through the creation of developmental, preventive and treatment services and resources. The persons that we serve must be viewed as members of cultural communities with the objectives of social participation and social integration becoming primary objectives of our intervention.

Curriculum content must reflect the differences; perspectives and service needs of a culturally pluralistic society. Practice must reflect value-directed advocacy addressing the societal processes that have traditionally impaired people as well as those processes that emerge as newly dysfunctional aspects. Practice interventions must be viewed as opportunities and mechanisms for enhancing political and social functioning (see Table II).

If one accepts the proposed conceptual model for viewing the person, the resulting practice must be based upon intervention strategies that are supported by philosophy, research, and professional credentials that enable social workers to effectively and competently use their professional resources to create a culturally pluralistic society.

TABLE II

FUNCTIONS OF THE ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM:
MULTIDIMENSIONAL HUMAN PERSON

Establishment of a Common Reality and Philosophy	Knowledge Building	Selection of Strategies	Establishment of Legitimacy
The professional accepts that . individuals' self identity is fully realized through communal & cooperative relationships . human beings are the creators of institutional networks to meet their needs. . a culturally pluralistic society is essential if all groups are to realize their potentials and have access to social resources . there is a vision of a society based on social justice & strategies to operationalize it are basic to the professor's practice	. Knowledge building is based on rational empiricism, as well as phenomenology. . multiple realities are utilized for research . research inquiries address societal arrangements, all aspects of person, dysfunctional and functional aspects of communities processes . research is used to identify and preserve multiple cultural arrangements rather than reinforcing an idealized norm.	Social work skills become . generalized and specialized to conform with cultural contexts . community development becomes a major focus for all work with individuals, groups & communities . based in a comprehensive liberal arts education	Credentialing accepts an expansion of . interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary activities . multi-competency certifications

EPILOGUE

The current arguments regarding "ethnic purity" falsely taint the reality and value of cultural pluralism. Critics argue that ethnic affiliations have produced such strong ethnocentric ties that members of our society are no longer able to live in peace and harmony. Proponents of integration argue that the communities of South Boston and Watts conclusively prove that ghettos, whether White or Black, perpetuate psychological and physical separations that ultimately damage those residing inside or outside its boundaries.

The current realities cannot be ignored nor can they be used as examples to defend or destroy the value and goal of cultural pluralism. In the views of the writers, cultural pluralism has never been a reality, value or a goal of the United States. The educator, Edgar Epps, aptly states that:

> "Traditionally, American society has been willing to accept culturally different peoples if they are willing to become acculturated and reject their cultural distinctiveness."[12]

This traditional position cannot be confused with the portion of cultural pluralism that values cultural distinctiveness whether it be a part of one's self, one's group or other individuals and groups within the society. The circumstances of South Boston are indeed, incidences of personal prejudice and institutional racism, but they are also the consequences of many years of perpetuating conditions of marginal status and degrees of "unpreferredness" for different cultural groups within our society.

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[12] Epps, Edgar G., "Epilogue-The Schools and Cultural Pluralism", Cultural Pluralism, (Berkeley, California, 1974, McCutchan Publishing Corporation), p. 175.

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between the extreme ideology of cultural pluralism and that of integration (assimilation or melting pot) would be a better guide for social work education. The balanced approach labeled as pluralistic integration has the potential of promoting national unity in the midst of ethnic diversity and meeting the challenges of ethnic minority groups and the lower classes crying for a fair share in becoming part of the larger American Society.

The promulgation of CSWE Manual of Accreditation Standard 1234 A, the overriding purpose of which is to provide students with the awareness and knowledge that ours is a culturally pluralistic society, has resulted in placing lopsided emphasis on ethnic affirmation and group identity. While the promotion and implementation of a positive view toward ethnic and cultural differences is highly desirable, precautions have to be taken to safeguard against the overemphasis on the "ethnic diversity" syndrome and ignoring the problems of poverty and passivity of the poor, among whom both ethnic minorities of color and the lower strata of the white ethnics are significantly found.

The plethora of literature that has recently appeared stressing "new ethnicity" and "historical identity" on the part of the third and fourth generations of southern and eastern European immigrants in the United States does not refer to a common people's movement but is more a reflection of the voluntary ethnic intellectuals' emphasis on "historical identity" raised against the majority of the well established upper class White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Gunnar Myrdal reports that these new ethnic writings have seldom concerned themselves with the analysis of aggressive attitudes of the poor masses of ethnic groups directed amongst themselves rather than upward. He further points out that the unfortunate situation that the poor new immigrants had to face when they came to the country was due less to cultural heritage than to extreme poverty which they had to contend with on their arrival. The total lack of attention to the problems of poverty and all that is related to it by the "new ethnicity" writers is the result of a lack of a rational perception of these ethnic intellectuals and the nation and their reluctance to coalesce with other groups to press demands for the realization of the American dream of a free and democratic society that creates happiness for all its people.

Social Work education, in order to prepare practitioners for leadership roles in bringing about equalization of life results for all segments of the population cutting across social class, ethnic and racial dimensions should adopt a pluralistic integration approach, aimed at bringing about a higher identification of the citizenry with the nation as a whole, and not merely identification with their separate ethnic groups. At a time when cultural diversity and ethnocentrism are being continually emphasized, it is important to promote a sense of larger community transcending ethnicity and work toward the realization of synthesis and public interest in order to transform cultural diversity into national unity. It is only when such a synthesis of many parts of the American Social System takes place can poverty, and all that is related to it, that holds down American ethnics, racial groups, and poorer classes be reduced or eliminated.

THE BLACK FAMILY AND BLACK CULTURE: A STUDY IN COPING

Leon W. Chestang*

In addressing the subject of this paper, we embark again upon a journey which is treacherous for the scholar. The territory abounds with dangers, and there are pitfalls at every turn. On the one side, there is the ever present hazard of emotion threatening to confuse the issues. On the other side stands prejudice blinding us to the terrain. Hovering above us is subjectivity narrowing and distorting our perspective. But these are not all. There is yet another problem confronting us, a problem more subtle but equally dangerous, both to one who would lead on such a journey and to those who would follow him in the adventure: we have been there before--with Du Bois and Myrdal; with Allison Davis and Franklin Frazier; with Billingsley and Ladner; and with many, many more. These earlier explorations have taught us much, and they have given us a certain familiarity with the territory. This familiarity, however, can dull our sensitivity to aspects of the territory and features of the milieu which might have been overlooked, hidden from view, in our previous explorations.

When the study of the black family and black culture proceed in the heat of emotion and the irrationality of prejudice, the issues become confused, and when we approach the subject with illusions of familiarity, we become pretentious sophisticates whose facility with the people is hardly more than an appropriately placed "right on" or whose view of the culture is limited to an incomplete and often incorrect comprehension of their family styles, musical tastes, and food preferences.

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This distorted perception of the black family and black culture is rooted in prejudice and discrimination and the myths and stereo-types which stem from these. If we are to move beyond this limited view, it is necessary to understand the black family and black culture as adaptations to the social circumstances which surround them.

This paper seeks to describe and to analyze black culture as a coping strategy. Its thesis is that widely held views of black culture grow out of the faulty foundation of two related approaches to the study of this subject: the focus on the poor and the use of the white middle class norm as the standard for assessing and defining black culture. It proceeds on the assumption that black culture cannot be understood apart from the social context in which it exists. Thus, we will examine the nature of that social context and its impact on the shaping of black culture and the development of the family as one aspect of that culture. The outline of an alternative perspective for viewing the black family and black culture will be offered, and the implications of this analysis for practice and research will be presented.

Before undertaking this analysis, it is necessary to state what is meant by the terms black culture and coping. Our definition of black culture is simple and straightforward, for we wish to avoid the romantic and to eschew the exotic notions which frequently accompany discussions of this subject. By black culture we mean those characteristic ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving which have evolved out of the experience of black people in American society. This definition acknowledges the possible influence of what Herskovits[1] has called Africanisms (i.e., "residuals" from the African heritage) on these patterns, but it emphasizes the significance of the American experience as the relevant consideration for this exploration.

Coping refers to any behavior or psychological process occasioned by

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[1] M. J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958).

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threat and which serves the purpose of mitigating or eliminating that threat.[2] In a word, "Coping refers to strategies for dealing with threat".

Our understanding of the concept of black culture will be clearer when we dissociate it from notions of deviancy and place it in the context of coping. Viewed in this fashion, black culture is removed from the realm of the unusual and the strange and becomes, appropriately, a manifestation of one group's style of confronting, adapting to, and mastering its social environment. This, after all, is the challenge to all human groups, whatever their national origin or social status. A clearer perception of black culture as coping rests on knowledge of the adoptive function of black culture in the context of American society.

In attempting to set forth a description of black culture, we risk charges of presumptiousness, if not arrogance. This is true, not only because of the emotion and the subjectivity--as potent and dangerous as these are--which often surround the subject. Neither is wide familiarity with the subject the only reason why such charges may be leveled. In addition to all of these, there is the fact that no description, however inclusive, could reflect the complexity of black culture or individualized perception of it by a given black individual. Our descriptions, therefore, will be incomplete. It is important, nevertheless, to attempt a description of black culture, for, as Lazarus[3] has reminded us:

> "The individual case in science must be seen as an instance of general laws, and its fullest understanding comes both from the extensive study of an individual and the location of this individual within the general normative patterns. Awareness of this is important in the formulation of adequate conceptualizations"

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[2] R.S. Lazarus, Psychological Stress and the Coping Process,(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966),p. 151.

[3] Ibid, p. 24.

What is the nature of black culture? What is its function for black people? Answers to these questions form the foundation of our understanding of black culture as a strategy for dealing with a peculiar set of social circumstances.

The Fallacious Comparison: The Black Poor and the White Middle Class

Two central problems have plagued the study of black culture in the past: (1) the focus on the poor in this group, and (2) the use of the white middle class norm as the base from which all blacks, regardless of class, were to be judged. We will discuss these in turn as a prelude to the explication of our view of black culture.

The focus of research and study on poor blacks is understandable, since, for many years, this group comprised the majority of the black population. In fact, one can say without distortion or exaggeration that the essence of black culture was and is reflected in the lives of this group. What then was and is the problem with this focus? In limiting their research to the poor, social scientists obscured critical elements of black culture and began to define this phenomenon in terms of behavioral forms which were occasioned not by race, but by poverty. Following on the heels of that focus was a host of myths and stereotypes. Witness the myth of the matriarchy as a case in point. According to this notion, the black female carries the leadership role within the family. This myth further implies that the black female's leadership role is brought about by the weakness and inadequacy of the male.

In spite of evidence to the contrary, the myth of the matriarchy persists. The underlying reason for the existence of a significant number of female-headed households is ignored. It has been only in the last ten years that the nation at large has been sensitized to the extensiveness and to the severity of racism in American society, and it is precisely the effects of racism which account, in the last analysis, for the female-headed household.

But racism is an abstract idea. It is something others have or feel, never oneself. It is therefore fruitless to pursue the impact of racism on the level of personal culpability (although it can have very personal effects on black individuals). It is more in keeping with our purpose and more to our point to look at the social impact of racism as an explanation for the so-called matriarchy.

Racism, the behavior based on the ideology that one group is superior to another, is most readily seen in its consequences: The unemployment rate for black males more than doubles that for white males; the income for black families is 40% less than that for white families; nearly 30% of black families have incomes below the low-income level--we could go on and on.[4] But it is sufficient to state the counter argument made by some observers:[5] The disadvantaged economic position of black men and black families is a plausible explanation for a large number of female-headed households.

The weak male thesis and the insinuation of black male sexual irresponsibility as attributes of black culture are likewise subject to alternative explanations. If the black male has assumed a subordinate role, it is because the societal constraints which he has faced have rendered him powerless, not only in the community at large, but also in his own home. Need I recount here the lynchings which were all too prevalent in the 1920's or the more recent racial murders during the 1960's? And need I tell again the stories of the Booker Washingtons, the Richard Wrights, and untold thousands of other black boys who learned at their mother's knee (with a strap or a stick in her hand) that self-assertion, aggressivity, and, yes, even competence were to be avoided at all costs, for their very lives depended upon this? Need I tell you again these stories? Perhaps not, for the sake of the very young, for they are too far removed, and the tales are too frightening. Perhaps not, for the sake of the very old, for they are too close, and remembering arouses shame and guilt. Pherhaps not, for the sake of those who are neither too young nor too old, for they remember 1954 and 1966 and 1968, and they already know.

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[4] U. S. Government, U. S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1972* (Current Population Reports Series P-23, No. 46),(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1973).

[5] A. Billingsley, *The Black Family in White America*,(Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968),J. Ladner, *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman*, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972), for further discussion on these points.

To return to our point about the error of defining black culture through behavioral manifestations which are more appropriately associated with poverty than race, enough has been said to show that the total effect of focusing on the poor in research and scholarly discourse has been to confuse socioeconomic status with culture.

In addition to the above, the search for an adequate description of black culture has been impeded by comparing black cultural and familial patterns to those of the white middle class. This tendency has grown out of the ironical assumption that since blacks live in American society, their thinking, feeling, and behaving should conform to the norm of the society. This assumption has deep roots in American social philosophy which is embodied in the Constitution and which can be characterized as the American Dream. This view holds, among other things, that all men are created equal; that equal opportunity exists for all; that America is a great melting pot to which the homeless and those yearning to be free may enter and become one with their fellow men; and that the industrious and persevering will not only prevail but that they will succeed.

While these beliefs have resembled reality for the large majority of white Americans, for blacks the American Dream has been the impossible dream. The social and political reasons why this is true are familiar and recorded widely in the literature,[6] and it is not necessary to repeat them here. What claims our attention is the impact on scholarly discourse of using the white middle class norm as the base from which to assess black culture and black families.

Perhaps the most negative consequence of using the middle class norm in assessing black culture has been what Cole & Bruner[7] have called "the deficit interpretation". According to these writers, the deficit interpretation

> "...rests on the assumption that a community under conditions of poverty (for it is the poor who are the focus of attention, and a disproportionate number of the poor are members of minority ethnic groups) is a disorganized community, and this disorganization expresses itself in various forms of deficit."

The assumption of deficits in black families follows on two faulty premises: First, this interpretation assumes that the ideal family type would look like the model of the wider society; and, second, it assumes that the high illegitimacy rate, the single-parent family, and the frequency of absent father figures are indicators of deficiency in the structure of black families. The critical flaw in the first premise is its failure to consider the differences in the social circumstances related to prejudice and poverty which black families must face. The flaw in the second lies in its overlooking the possibility (and, indeed, the fact, as we shall show later) that black families have developed alternative family structures which are in keeping with the reality of their social condition. We have already alluded to Billingsley's[8] perceptive comments in this regard.

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[6] See for example:
W. H. Grier, & P. M. Cobbs, Black Rage, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968); A. Kardiner & L. Avesey, The Mark of Oppression, (New York: World Publishing, 1962); L. L. Knowles & K. Prewitt, (Eds.) Institutional Racism in America, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969); G. Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944); W. Ryan, Blaming the Victim, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

[7] M. Cole, & J. S. Bruner, "Cultural Differences and Inferences About Psychological Processes," American Psychologist, 1971, 26, 867-875.

[8] A. Billingsley, The Black Family in White America, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968).

In failing to consider the points we have made above, large numbers of social scientists have come to define black culture in very negative ways. These negative definitions and the intervention strategies they imply are increasingly being rejected by scholars and practitioners from both races. The analysis presented by Cole and Bruner is an outstanding illustration. The data which they review refutes the contention that minority group children suffer intellectual defects. In fact, these writers have "doubts as to whether any non-superficial *differences* exist among different cultural groups".[9] They arrive at this conclusion on the basis of the anthropological "doctrine of psychic unity," which holds that in the "run of total experience," the assumption of intellectual equality among different groups is justified. Thus, the issue of the disorganization of black culture or of the black family is open to the question, "from whose point of view?"

The point of view above draws attention to an alternative way of looking at cultures other than one's own. It emphasizes the idea that different groups, due to the nature of their environments and conditions in society, tend to organize the world differently. It suggests therefore that an interpretation of differences is more appropriate than an interpretation of deficit. This point of view will be familiar to social workers, for it is in harmony with Hartman's concept of adaptation which holds that man seeks to fit with his environment and that "the degree of adaptiveness can only be determined with reference to environmental situations."[10]

The importance of the above perspective in illuminating some of the issues involved in the current debate about the intellectual potential of blacks and the viability of linguistic patterns among many members of this group is readily seen. The interpretation of difference urges us to consider the nature of the environment which is being negotiated when we study or evaluate the intelligence of an individual or a group. Given the nature of the environment which blacks must negotiate, with all of its exclusion, rejection, poverty, and prejudice, it could hardly be expected that their method of negotiating their environment would duplicate that of members of the dominant group.

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[9] M. Cole & J. S. Bruner, 'Cultural Differences and Inferences About Psychological Processes," *American Psychologist*, 1971, *26*, 867-875.

[10] Heinz Hartmann, *Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation*, (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1958), p. 23.

In the light of the above, the so-called matriarchy, the single-parent family, high illegitimacy rates, and the so-called weak male thesis must be viewed in terms of the social context in which they occur. They should not be used as evidence of the disorganization of black culture or disorganization of black families.

How then shall we define black culture? If the elements we have addressed above do not adequately describe significant aspects of the culture, where shall we turn? It will be our purpose, in the next section of the paper, to attempt, if only in broad outline, to respond to these questions.

THE NATURE OF BLACK CULTURE

We have tried to show above that many of the elements which are often placed under the rubric of black culture are more often related to poverty than to race. Indeed a significant body of research has shown that exactly those same elements attributed to blacks--large families, absent fathers, female-headed families, and so forth--are commonly observed among poor whites as well.[11] These findings have been used by some people to suggest that a black culture as such does not exist; that what one sees is a culture of poverty. While we will not take up that argument here, it is relevant to point out that poverty is a key pre-existing condition which given rise to the process which we believe reflects the essential nature of black culture.

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[11] See the following for further discussion:
W. H. Grier & P. M. Cobbs, Black Rage, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968); M. Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States, New York: MacMillan, 1962);C. A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968).

In another place (Chestang),[12] we identified three essential elements in the black condition: social injustice, societal inconsistency, and personal impotence. This, of course, was a conceptual way of talking about poverty and racism. These three conditions, when combined with a style of coping with them, comprise the black experience. Out of this experience black culture is developed. The reader is aware by now that we have elected to describe black culture as a process rather than a selection of traits. We choose this course, because the concept of trait can be very misleading. I can, in fact, lead us right back to defining black culture in terms of the elements which we have discredited earlier. A greater danger in the use of a trait approach in pursuing our subject, however, is that it causes us, as Mischel has shown, to overlook the fact that "behaviors which are often construed as stable personality traits are in reality highly specific and depend on the details of the evoking situations".[13] Another reason of the utmost significance for our decision not to pursue a listing of traits to define black culture remains to be stated: The trait approach obscures our perception of what blacks of both the lower and the middle classes have in common, and it is the discovery of that commonality which will reveal what we believe to be the real nature of black culture.

Given the nature of the black condition in American society--poverty and racism--and given the fact that in spite of that condition, blacks are still citizens of this nation, the prevailing and consistent aspect of their lives which all blacks share in common is *the necessity to live in two worlds*.

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[12] In: L. W. Chestang,"Environmental Influences on Social Functioning: The Black Experience,"In P. Cafferty & L. W. Chestang (Eds.), *Diversity in American Society: Implications for Social Policy* (Tentative Title), (New York: Association Press, June 1976).

[13] W. Mischel, *Personality and Assessment*,(New York: Wiley, 1968) P. 37.

This then is a part of the nature of the black experience, and it is this fact which gives rise to black culture. We have discussed this point in detail elsewhere, and we will treat it only briefly here.[14]

In the paper referred to above, we proposed that blacks have a duality of culture. This duality grows out of the history and the acculturation of blacks in this society. Slavery essentially severed the blacks' culturel connections with their homeland. The result of this was that blacks were forced to adopt the only culture which they knew, the American culture. At the same, time, their participation in American society was circumscribed and conditional. Blacks, in a word, identified with larger American culture, but the opportunity to derive the benefits of that identification was denied them. As a result, their acculturation was dichotomized. Because certain sustenance needs, i.e., employment, economic resources, political power, and so forth, were lodged in the wider society, blacks necessarily had to venture into that world. Their needs for nurturance, i.e., family, friends, supportive institutions, and so on, were obtained in the black community. This dichotomy, however, had a critical influence on their affective response to each of these worlds involved in their existence. Blacks related instrumentally to their sustaining environment (the wider society), holding back their emotional investment in it. In their nurturing environment (the black community), because of its supportive features, they related to it with profound emotional investment. This distinction in emotional investment in the two worlds is significant in understanding black culture, because it places some of the commonly observed differences in thinking, feeling, and behaving among blacks in context. It does this by relating them to the social environment (the duality of culture) in which members of this group are constrained to live.

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[14] Chestang, op. cit.

In this view, it is simplistic to suggest that blacks possess only the culture of their nurturing environment or that they live marginally in or only caricaturize their sustaining environment. The fact is: They live in both worlds.

With this brief description of black culture, we can now discuss its functions.

THE FUNCTION OF BLACK CULTURE: COPING

Valentine has suggested that culture "has come to mean, most simply, the entire way of life followed by a people".[15] Black culture then is the way of life followed by most members of this group. But culture, black or otherwise, would have no meaning unless it served some purpose for human beings. We hold that men create cultures as ways of mastering their environments, and, as we have already suggested, cultures differ according to the demands of the environment. What then are some of the important demands of the black person's environment, and in what ways does his culture serve to help him to meet these demands?

When black culture is understood as a psycho-social process involving at least two interacting systems, each service to meet specific needs of black individuals and groups, and when we understand that this process is set in motion by the limitations placed on the black person's participation in the wider society, the nature of the environmental demands on the psycho-social functioning of this group becomes obvious. Limited opportunities for employment, meager economic resources, and circumscribed participation in the political sphere pose threats to their physical survival. Rampant personal rejection, inconsistent responses from the wider society, and the threat to physical and emotional well-being menace their security. Implication of inferiority, denegation of their talents and skills, and insults to their dignity abuse their self-esteem. It is the function of black culture to mitigate and palliate these environmental demands for survival, security, and self-esteem.

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[15] C. A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 3.

The Survival Function

As we have said, it is within the wider society that those aspects of culture which are necessary for physical survival are found. The black person must make excursions (incursions?) into that world if he is to survive. He is able to do this with the least danger to his integrity through relating instrumentally to that world. We mean by this that he adopts a variety of strategies for obtaining the needed benefits without becoming personally vulnerable. The observation that many blacks perform quite adequately on jobs but show no investment in the task is one manifestation of such strategies. This tactic was even more commonly used during the period when discrimination was more blatant, and blacks of superior competence were consigned to menial tasks. Lack of interest in being a doorman, for example, when one possesses the credentials of a chemist should be understandable. That some blacks used their political position to advance self-interest instead of group interest is regrettable but not surprising. This was (is) true, because the real political power remains with a patron who has the power to end one's career. Manipulations such as feigned humility and other self-effacing behaviors are also utilized in the course of obtaining survival needs.

These descriptions of behaviors represent only limited illustrations within a large range of possible behaviors which are aimed at meeting survival needs. They will be familiar to the reader, for they have been identified before. Our reason for repeating them here is to show that, as separate entities, they are inappropriate designations of black culture. Viewed from the perspective of duality in black culture, they are discrete elements in a larger process, elements which can be fully understood only within the context of that process..

The Security Function

The security and the self-esteem functions of black culture also stem from the constraints placed upon the black person's participation in the wider society. In response to those constraints, blacks have been pushed to bind themselves together for mutual support. This binding has both concrete and psychological dimensions which are interactive and reciprocal. Because the concrete dimensions are well known (e.g., the extended family, sharing resources, protections from "the man"), we will devote our attention to the psychological dimensions.

The psychological dimension of this "binding together" is the genesis of the idea of a "black community". This idea of black community is ultimately an abstraction. The existence of a real, unified monolith called the black community does not exist. What does exist is the shared feeling of "we-ness" among blacks growing out of their shared experience in relation to the wider society. This "we-ness" takes on a life of its own, and it serves as a haven against the assaults of the wider society. When we refer to the work of supportive institutions within the black community, such as the black church and the various fraternal organizations, we should be aware that they are able to do their work because of this psychological connection between and among black people. It is in this sense and for these reasons that we are able to speak of the black community.

The critical result of this psychological connection--affinity is a better word--is that one feels secure in the company of like-minded persons who have and have had similar experiences. One's expectation that they will understand, comfort, and protect is seldom unfulfilled. Examples of blacks manipulating blacks and blacks denegrating blacks will come to mind, and the reader is likely to feel that we have exaggerated and romanticized our point. The reader is reminded, however, that he has looked in the wrong place for his argument. Members of the same family often come to blows; it is against the outsider that affinity becomes a bond.

The Self-Esteem Functions

The abuses to self-esteem, as we have said, are related to the implications of inferiority, the insults to dignity, and the denegration of talent and skills. Within the black community, the black person has both a platform and an opportunity to display these talents and skills and to be rewarded for his abilities. While we could more clearly observe this in earlier times, when segregation was more open, the self-esteem function of black culture continues. What was once the pride displayed by one's parents and friends within the territorial confines of the black community can now be seen in a quieter identification with the exploits of one's black fellows, whether in the academy or on the athletic field.

In addition to the above, the self-esteem function of black culture can be seen in its provision of a base for identity. The former slave who persevered, outwitting his master and surviving; the depreciated black child who struggled against heavy odds and achieved success; a people beaten down and whose spirits were crushed; all of these and more are elements in the black identity. All of these and more provide a sense of purpose to the lives of untold thousands of black people. Is it not true that all groups, in one sense or another, define themselves in terms of how they have mastered their environments? And is it not true that every group whose history has been colored by oppression has transformed that oppression into an asset? We do not wish to imply that the seeds of good germinate in oppression. We want only to suggest that men do what they must to maintain their dignity and self-esteem in the fact of oppression. We imply only that the human being adapts, copes, and creates, using the means available to him.

Implications for Practice and Research

In setting forth this statement about black culture as coping, we do not claim originality. The contribution of this discussion lies in its effort to describe black culture as a process which evolves out of the social context in which it exists. This point emphasizes our idea of black culture as coping. Since social work is concerned with the social functioning of individuals, families, and groups, such an understanding should point the way to more effective diagnostic comprehension and treatment of its clientele who come from this minority group. It has been pointed out that various individuals and institutions within the black community support the individual through their positive inputs. It would be helpful, if we are correct in the functions we have ascribed to black culture, if social work made greater use of the adaptive aspect of the culture in efforts to enhance social functioning. Further, our formulation of the nature of black culture has the potential of becoming a tool in changing of attitudes of social workers about black people and their problems. Specifically, we should seek to develop a technology for blending our understanding of personality development with knowledge of black culture, so that our means of helping will not seem alien to the goals of the clients we serve.

Social research, from the perspective presented in this paper, should address itself to the conditions surrounding the lives of black people. Thus, the call, which one sees so often now in the literature, for ecological research, i.e., research which seeks to understand behavior in a context, is in keeping with our point of view. Further, social research would do well, as some researchers are now, to consider exploring the ways in which black people define competence. This might be done through studies which look at people in their normal environments, not in testing situations.

Conclusion

The author attempted here to explore some of the issues involved in defining black culture and to glean a more comprehensive understanding of black culture as a social process. He has also tried to show the importance of social conditions as the origin of what we call black culture.

Because of the similarity of the black condition to that of other groups in American society, this effort has implications for our understanding of the coping aspects of their cultures and how social conditions give rise to their adaptations.

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COMMENTARY

Jacquelyn A. Alford, D.S.W.

Chestang's basic premise is that black families have a duality of culture resulting from residual values predating slavery and the contemporary American culture. His conceptual analysis of the impact of external social forces appear to have limited value for understanding black family life. While Chestang denies the legitimacy of the widely held practice of defining black culture as a function of poverty and white, middle class norms, he uses poverty and white middle class norms to explain black culture. He asserts that black culture cannot be understood apart from the social context in which it exists. It is difficult to determine whether it is Chestang's view that black culture is a subset of American culture or whether it is a reaction to American culture.

The concept of black culture as a coping strategy appears to be a reaction to American culture while the concept of black culture as those characteristic ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving which have evolved out of the experience of black people appears to be related to the subset notion.

In the main, culture is defined as the sum total of the ways in which human beings live, transmitted from generation to generation by learning. The cumulative product is culture.[1] The problem with Chestang's definition of black culture is that he has made precisely the error he identified in the introduction of his paper. He contends that widely held views of black culture grow out of the faulty foundation of two related approaches: a) the focus on the poor, and b) utilization of the white middle class norm as the base for assessing and defining black culture. Further, he states that the faulty foundation proceeds on the assumption that black culture cannot be understood apart from the social context in which it exists.

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[1] Carlton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology,(New York; Prentice Hall, 1954).

This error is clearly explicated in his assertion that --

> "poverty is a key pre-existing which gives rise to the process which we believe reflects the essential nature of black culture."

Further, he cites an earlier paper[2] where "we" identified three essential elements in the black condition: social injustice, societal inconsistency, and personal impotence. He states that these elements are a conceptual way of talking about poverty and racism. Additionally, he contends that these three conditions when combined with a style of coping comprise the black experience from which black culture is developed.

If Chestang's assertion of poverty as the key pre-existing condition to the nature of black culture is true, then the validity of the fallacious comparison of the black poor (lower class) and the white middle class has no merit. However, this basic flaw may support the Chestang thesis of a duality of culture, at least, for the poor black.

There are a number of avenues that Chestang could have adopted. For instance, he could have attacked the "myth" of the American middle class. There is also a widely held view that the middle class white family represents the basic family culture in the United States.[3] This myth is predicated on the assumption that the white middle class is a homogeneous group. This view is no more true regarding whites than its counterpart regarding blacks; i.e., that blacks are poor and homogeneous. A key variable in accounting for differences between groups as well as within groups is social class. Miller looked at the 1960 U. S. Census data and based upon the differential dispersion of income, concluded that at least 40 percent of the families must be excluded from the ranks of middle class on the basis of occupation as well as income.[4]

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[2] Chestang, op. cit.

[3] Veronica Stalte Heiskanan, "The Myth of the Middle-Class Family in American Family Sociology", The American Sociologist, Vol. 6, 1971, pp. 14-18.

It appears to this writer that the position taken by Chestang parallels the position taken by other writers who use the culture vs. class dichotomy to analyze black family life. One point of view posits that some type of action is needed to bring the black family into conformity with modal white, middle class family ideals. Since Chestang views black culture as a non-conforming coping strategy, he implicitly subscribes to the notion that some type of remedial action is necessary.

Specifically, Chestang's view is consonant with that of Potter[5] who contends that the black historical experience is the basic cause for the development of a black, lower class culture. It embraces Frazier's[6] contention that the method of enslavement and slavery destroyed the cultural moorings of blacks and prevented a perpetuation of African kinship and family relations which resulted in variegated forms according to different situations. It supports the Moynihan[7] and Rainwater[8] thesis of the impact of slavery and oppression on the disintegration of the black family. Rainwater asserts that the victimization process prepares and toughens black family members to function in a ghetto world, and at the same time, seriously interferes with their ability to operate in any other world. This appears to be the basis of the

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For further discussion

[4] Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowall, 1965).

[5] David M. Potter, People of Plenty, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

[6] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

[7] Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, (Office Policy, Planning and Research, U. S. Department of Labor, 1965).

[8] Lee Rainwater and Marc J. Swartz, The Working Class World, (World View Social Relations and Family Behavior Magazines, Social Research, Inc., 1965).

Chestang duality of culture hypothesis. Even Rainwater acknowledges that his explanation is not generalizable to the entire population of black Americans. Whereas Chestang leaves one with the impression that black culture as a coping strategy is a recreation to the American white, middle-class myth.

As a Black applied scientist, one might have expected Chestang to define black culture more realistically, i.e., to define black culture in terms of characteristic social interaction patterns, social patterns for meeting biological and social needs, the process of acculturation demonstrated in black families in terms of the learning process and in the words of Kluckholm, the explicit and implicit black culture.

It becomes eminently clear in the Chestang paper that the majority of persons judge other cultures in terms of their own. Perhaps Chestang could have made a greater contribution had he focused on similarities in the American culture differentiated by race and by social class; and even in terms of regional differences. The black experience can certainly be said to differ regionally. The black experience referred to by Chestang is not perceived by all blacks as a universal experience. Even Billingsley, who accepts the middle class norm, acknowledges that the black family represents a unit of considerable variety and complexity; that many of its constituent features are a misunderstood source of strength in the black community; and that some of its characteristics have been given invidious labels by those whose motives are politically suspect. Hill's book on the Strengths of Black Families also could have been utilized by Chestang to document characteristic ways of thinking, feeling and behaving.

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133

COMMENTARY

George S. Greenberg, D.S.W.

Professor Chestang has aptly related in the preface to his paper that any examination of the black family or black culture (and what is popularly referred to in Graduate Schools of Social Work as minority content) is fraught with a variety of factors that tend to promote distortion of, as well as the continued obfuscation in the literature, focusing on issues and content related to black culture and the black family. Professor Chestang contends this is a result of emotionalism, blinding prejudicial features (including myths and stereotyping), narrowness of over-subjectivity and/or over-familiarity with the territory.

Rarely if ever is man, let alone the scholar, capable of transcending his enslavement to time-place-bonding. Consequently, we must not only be cautious and vigilant in continuously examining the propositions to which we are wedded, but must become increasingly sensitive to the interface between ideology and scholarly analysis.

A primary proposition upon which Professor Chestang's paper rests is that black culture cannot be understood apart from the context in which it exits. In 1942 Gregory Bateson contended this maxim to be a fundamental guideline in descriptive anthropology. He warned of the danger of the observer examining contexts, through the veil of a previously learned blueprint or schemata, and concluded that in cross-cultural studies anthropologists should leave off thinking in terms of blueprints and, rather, evaluate activity in terms of immediate value.[1]

However, even when attempting to follow this guideline we are still faced with the question of how contexts are defined, as well as the issue of what occurs when the observer is or becomes a part of the context.

Professor Chestang notes that the primary goal of his discussion is to examine features of that social context and its impact on the shaping of black culture and the development of the family as one aspect of that culture. I am critical of his identification and use of the singular term "black culture"[2] as opposed to "blacks' cultures" or "black cultures." Black culture is defined by Professor Chestang as: characteristic ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving which have evolved out of the experience in American society. This includes "Africanisms," or vestiges from the African heritage[s].* Note the continuing emphasis on the singularity of black experience[s].* Even if all Africanisms were found to be no longer present, how can we exclude the influences of regional sectionalisms which have historically, with varying differences, impacted upon men and women within the wide geophysical boundaries of the United States? This includes the reciprocal effects and outcomes that emerge from interchanges between a variety of ethnically diverse populations--e.g., of New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco or Houston. Could it be that those prejudicial factors that Professor Chestang noted in the early part of his presentation have blinded us with a new myth: a common black cultural formation.

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[1] Margaret Mead, "The Comparative Study of Culture and the Purposes Cultivation of Democratic Values," in Science, Philosophy and Religion: Second Symposium, New York, Sept. 8-11, 1941 , subsequently reprinted as "Social Planning and the Concept of Deutero-Learning" in Steps to an Ecology of Mind, ed. Bateson (New York, 1972), pp. 159-79.

[2] Professor Chestang is referring to "Black Culture in America."

Edward Sapir[3], in 1919, noted the term "culture" had been employed in such a variety of senses or groupings that he questioned its use entirely. His concern was that the term lacked preciseness. Time does not permit a recapitulation of his views. However, I wish to cite a small segment of his work. Sapir acknowledges that "culture" had been technically used by ethnologists and cultural historians to embody any socially inherited element in the life of man, whether material or spiritual. He continued:

> "The present conception of culture is apt to crop up particularly in connection with problems of nationality, with attempts to find embodied in the character and civilization of a given people some peculiar excellence, some distinguishing force [and , I add, negative and/or positive]* that is strikingly its own. Culture thus becomes nearly synonymous with the spirit or genius of a people, yet not altogether, for whereas these loosely-used terms refer rather to a psychological, or pseudopsychological background of a national civilization, culture includes within this background a series of concrete manifestations which are believed to be peculiarly symptomatic of it."[4]

So there is, I believe, a great danger in the choice of the term "culture" which presently carries a variety of connotations suggesting a plethora of assumptions, including the insidious implication of an ethnocentrism that, in and of itself, may be racist in nature, or retain racist features. This, of course, is what Professor Chestang is suggesting he wishes to avoid. Still, granting the terminology, it appears that although an attempt is made to delineate black culture as a process, we are ultimately left with greater understanding of misunderstandings of it in the literature, rather than a working concrete formulation.

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[3] Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," Culture, Language and Personality: Select Essays, ed., Burger G. Mandelbaum, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1958), Chapter III, pp. 78-83.

[4] Ibid, pg. 83.

In his continuing attempt to characterize and define the nature of black culture, we are repeatedly warned of the stereotyping and hence the fallacious comparisons of the black poor (who are characterized as all blacks) to the "white middle class norm." But in the ensuing discussion the "middle class norm" is utilized as an explicitly singular notion. Regrettably to me, the "white middle class norm" is a proposition contiguous with, and of the same form as, "they all look alike." Many may disagree, but what is The Middle Class norm? Certainly not stereotyping of the highest order? I hope not!

Social scientists are reprimanded by Professor Chestang for confusing issues and problems associated with demographic stratification, e.g., socio-economic groupings with concepts of race. We of the social work communities have well contributed to this confusion, perhaps to the point of perpetuating a host of racial myths. This type of problem merits our closest attention.

Professor Chestang also warns us to be aware of the "myth" of "the matriarchy," while subsequently relating that there is a preponderance of black female-headed households. The point he emphasizes is that, while matriarchal formations exist in a high percentage of black family structures, they are not the result of weakness and inadequacy of the black male. Nevertheless, there is "Matriarchy" and there is "Matriarchy." (5) (6)

Along with the myth, or what has been labeled as "weak male thesis," we are told in America, that if the black male has assumed a subordinate role, it is because societal constraints have left him powerless and a resident in two worlds (a citizen of this nation and a citizen of Black

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[5] Chestang, page 5.

[6] Refer Billingsley, A Black Family in White America, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968).

America)--a duality that is a result of dichotomized acculturation.

The notion that consistency of experience leads to a unified sense of self (qua most of the socio-psychological literature) and inconsistency or split experiences lead to a low self-percept must not remain unquestioned. Furthermore, ignorance of, or omission of, blacks contributions to our country and society helps foster beliefs of black weakness. The lack of knowledge of blacks' strengths does not indicate weakness.

Black and non-Black America must be more cognizant of the W. E. B. Du Boises, Charles S. Johnsons, Nat Turners, Fredrick Douglasses, Sojourner Truths, Harriet Tubmans, Benjamin Bannekers, Phyllis Wheatleys, Jan Matzeligers, Norbert Tillieuxes, Louis Armstrongs, Duke Ellingtons, Charles "Bird" Parkers, James Weldon Johnsons, Paul Laurence Dunbars, Booker T. Washingtons, Elija Muhammad, Malcolm X's, Joe Louis's, Willie Mays', Mohammed Ali's, Marcus Garveys, A. Philip Randolphs, Roy Wilkins, Eldridge Cleavers, and Martin Luther Kings.

The black man is no weaker than others, yet the weight of this myth lies heavy. I do, however, suggest that the mythology has been transmitted and fostered not only by non-Black America, but that the black man even today receives this message of weakness in a great part from his "brothers." Consequently, the reciprocal exchanges (not equal) between black and non-black, while at times heavily one sided, must be re-examined by scholars in greater depth. This includes the black man's ongoing interaction with blacks and non-blacks. It includes the negative and the positive. I am here stressing such an examination with particular emphasis on negative factors and outcomes. I do this because current ideologies tend to overly emphasize the positive, and predominant ethnocentrisms continue to obscure the negative.

Chestang's choice of the term "coping" as a function of black culture makes a strong point, however, it is framed within a definition that coping is a response to eliminating threat. I don't deny the validity of the definition, nor the perceived threat or its actuality; but there is an implication that travels through much of the paper that views the black man, or focuses on blacks, as reacting to, rather than as actor or reactor upon. I believe that the idea and concept of "competency motivation," as coined by Professor Robert White, could add a realistic balance to Chestang's notion of coping and to what is referred to as adaptive features of black culture. Consequently the concept "coping" would more clearly emphasize "adaptation," of which perceived threat and its elimination is but one significant sub-set.

The Black Church is viewed by Professor Chestang as a supportive institution within the black community. I add the question, "Supportive of what?" Not in profanation, however. Nevertheless, I do suggest, that in contemporary academic America we have come to recognize that which was emphasized by the late Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X--that is, that black churches have often been a vehicle that incorporated a variety of non-black ideologies and functioned too often to promise the salvation of tomorrow as the justification or rationale for today's impoverishment. In essence, historically there are primary elements, and I emphasize elements, within black church movements that were, and continue to be, the best allies of those who sought to maintain black subjugation and enslavement.

Under his discussion of security functions, Professor Chestang speaks of "binding together." In addition, he discusses a shared feeling of "we-ness." Again, this binding together is described as reactive

139

to outer constraints. I suggest that this "we-ness" goes beyond the reactive, that it is present and extant, but remains predominantly hidden by the myths of non-unity or "pseudo-unity." In other words, there is a distorted or incorrect shared belief (or series of shared beliefs) maintained by a variety of black sub-groups that there is no unity or there is "little we-ness." This shared perception functions to increase disunity; undercut self-esteem; impede individual and group productivity, development and competencies; reduce senses of security; minimize hopes, and so forth. It is fostered in part by non-Black America, as well as Black America itself.

What I am suggesting (and I hope this will be confirmed not only by continued scholarly research but by a preponderance of Americans, particularly Black Americans) is that, as the myth recedes, so too will the need to view black cultures, in a large part, as reactive coping mechanisms. As the myth recedes, there will come increased awareness, as Ghandi and King recognized, that aggressiveness exists in passivity. As the myth recedes; there will emerge the realization that subordination can be active, not solely reactive. As the myth recedes; activity (assertion versus reaction and/or reiprocal exchange) will increase. As the myth recedes; a greater black unity that is there will be observed. As the myth recedes; the "I" of the "Self" and the "We" of the "sub-groups" will be permitted not only the recognition that diversity and unity do exist concurrently, but unity and diversity are strengths. It is here that "one" can be dichotomized without negation. It is here where syncretism means "blackification," assimilation and acculturation. It is here where interchange means self and other, apart and together.

*Brackets are mine.

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RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES IN ETHNIC COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

Miguel Montiel, D.S.W.*

Introduction

The failure of the civil rights movement to reverse the racist mentality of American society has left ethnic minorities of color in a state of confusion. The large amounts of time and money spent on the problem of race in this country were focused on understanding the problems of ethnic minorities primarily so that White Americans could design and implement massive welfare and educational programs to change the attitudes and behaviors of ethnic minorities. The sixties were a time of great optimism and minorities readily participated in the intervention programs, pretending that working within the system was "where it was at". However, the person-centered, corrective perspective of these programs made ethnic minorities who participated in these programs, and there are many of us, either fools or opportunists.

In every society and in every age there have been people whose principal function has been to justify and glorify the actions of the State. Be they priests, ideologues, philosophers, historians or social scientists, the results have always been the same. Those on the inside have defined those on the outside. Social scientists in our age have played this part well. They define who is sick and who is well, who needs change, and what direction that change will take. Academics, men and women, have been rewarded handsomely for doing this, even if the relationship between their "truths" and amelioration has been less than clear. They have been accountable to the funding sources, not to the subjects of the research. Upon reflection, it seems odd that the moral and ethical considerations of subject accountability has received so little attention by social researchers.

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The intent of this paper is to: (1) briefly review the predominant theoretical trends of research in ethnic communities of color in recent years and speculate on its possible consequences, one of which is a state of crisis among minorities; (2) review various alternative research strategies that have challenged the view of minorities as "outsiders"; and (3) attempt to develop an appropriate role for research in ethnic communities of color--appropriate in the sense that it addresses itself not to the concerns of White Americans about the "minority problem," but to the concerns of ethnic minorities about themselves.

The Sick Minorities

In a general sense, the medical model has dominated the study of ethnic minorities of color in the United States. The medical model originated in biology and postulates that there can be no cure without discovering the etiology of the maladaptive behavior. Deficit, deprivation, and disadvantage are common adjectives used to describe minorities in the research enterprise. These adjectives indicate that there is something missing for the development of the individual. The pathology model is essentially a medical model.

David Matza, Berkeley sociologist, in discussing much of the research on deviation, states that its purpose "has been to assist established society ultimately to rid itself of such troublesome activities".[1] Research on minorities has followed a similar course. Several examples will illustrate this most important point:

(1) The "culture of poverty" negates the essence of the anthropological notions of culture and stresses the highly negative approaches and values

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[1] David Matza, Becoming Deviant, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969

that are thought to be distinctive of the lower class poor, such as a disorganized family structure, violence, present time orientation, illegitimacy, and numerous other "internal causes".[2]

(2) The research on early childhood education maintains that minority children are unable to learn in the schools because of inadequate mothering and an environment that does not provide adequate sensory stimulation for cognitive growth.[3]

(3) The psychoanalytically-oriented psychologists, led by David McClelland, maintain that Blacks lack achievement motivation and, consequently, academic, social, and economic achievement because of the inability of the culture to develop necessary attitudes such as future orientation, stress on individual achievement, and a sense of control over one's own destiny. Again, according to the psychologists, it is the matricent structure of the Black family which creates a strong dependency that weakens the achievement motivation of Black males.

The common element of these theories is the stress on etiology and the assumption that the causes for the deviance are inside the person, the family or the culture under study.* Thus Grebler, in the study *The Mexican American*

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[2] Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 141.

[3] Steven S. Baratz and John C. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism", *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 40, Winter, 1970 pp. 29-50.

*Valentine mentions numerous methodological weaknesses in the many studies that have dealt with minorities and lower class people. It is evident from the many research sources that there is an obvious bias for data that portrays pathology. Police, court, and social work reports generally focus on behavior that by its very nature is corrective. Also census data that "shows" disorganized families (female-headed households) does not *per se* document the absence of males in these households. Witness the great number of "living together arrangements" among the middle class that do not fall to this pathological interpretation. One statistical description can be interpreted in several different ways.

The research of Oscar Lewis provides a good example of these methodological weaknesses, according to Valentine. Lewis relied on social workers to find an

People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority, begins his description of the Mexican American family by citing Moynihan who explained the low status of Black people in terms of an "unmotivated" male personality resulting from the "traditional matricentric family". Both families, according to Grebler, basically produce "the same kind of young man---one who drops out of school because he is preoccupied with immediate pleasure". The literature of the social sciences which stresses notions of deficit, deprivation, and disadvantage implies that something is missing inside these people and that it must be corrected. Correction, in Matza's words, "reflects the easily appreciated social view that persons who have strayed from moral standards ought to be persuaded by a variety of means to return to the fold, and it argues that knowledge may be put to that service".[4]

The Crisis

Ortega y Gasset, the 20th century Spanish philosopher, defines a crisis as "the transition which a man makes from a life attached to some things and supported by them to a life attached to another and supported by other things".[5] Minorities are facing a monumental crisis, for those things which they have been attached to have been continuously under attack. The attacks against their culture and languages, the neglect and distortion of their history, and the external definitions about their existence have left minorities in a state of confusion. The Chicano experience will be used to illustrate this

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appropriate family for study. How can he claim, asks Valentine, that this family is representative of the community from which it was picked? In addition, the interpretations do not follow from the data. For example, Lewis states that disorganization and a narrow perspective are characteristic of the "culture of poverty", yet Valentine finds a highly organized community with churches, stores, and bars that are centers of interaction. These examples clearly are indicative of a view of the poor as sick.

[4] David Matza, Becoming Deviant, Prentice-Hall, Inc., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969) p. 17.

[5] Jose Ortega Y. Gasset, Esquema de la Crisis, (Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1942), p. 8.

most important point. The history, body of knowledge, and the intervention programs that have been designed to integrate Chicanos into society have, in the words of Tomas Atencio, been "derived from somebody's else's action".[6]

The largely unrecorded history of Chicano-Anglo relations points to the existence of abuses of the dominant society toward the Chicano community. The Mexican War, the continued conflict on the agricultural fields, lunchings, manipulation of farm labor, the pachuco "riots", the massive deportations, and the land grabs in California and New Mexico are only some of the most blatant abuses of Mexicans since the borderlands became part of the United States in the mid-1800's.

Underlying the physical and economic abuses is another source of abuse that has apparently served to provide a rationale for the lowly status of Chicanos in the United States. This source of conflict, fought in the halls of academia, has been decidedly on the side of Anglo social scientists--for it is they who, until recently, have had a monopoly over the definition and explanation of the conditions of the Chicano community.

The review of the social science literature on the Chicano by Nick Vaca points to three central themes that have been used to explain the reasons for the lack of integration of the Chicanos into the mainstream of U. S. society, specifically the reasons for the Chicano's "pathological syndrome". This syndrome includes disorganized families, low school performance, high crime rate, poor health standards, and a high rate of dependency on public welfare. Early in the history of social science, genetic determinism dominated the literature. More recently, cultural and occasionally structural-environmental determinism have dominated the social science literature with respect to the Chicano. It is important to note that the theories and strategies of intervention have emerged from these basic perspectives. The theories did not lead to the intervention models from empirical data but, more often than not, they provided the rationale for the intervention models popular at the time.

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[6] Tomas Atencio, "Mental Health and the Spanish-Speaking", in Mental Health Planning Conference for the Spanish-Speaking: Proceedings, Jan. 11-12, 1972, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

Having determined that the Mexican "problem" was a result of inherent genetic inferiority, educators in the early part of the century felt justified in neglecting the education of Chicano youngsters—there was not much you could do for them. After the depression the first great influx in the central cities occurred. Although the Mexican was still seen as inferior, there was an effort made to at least "Americanize" him. Thus the school was seen as the major acculturating agency. World War II again forced the schools to take a better look at the Mexican "problem"; again the focus was on adjusting the child to the school experience, disregarding the peculiarity of his historical and cultural experience. It is safe to conclude that the focus of education with respect to the Chicano has always been to help him either to adjust to American society or merely to the school situation. Consistently the explanation of the problem has been the failure of the Mexican culture to provide the child with the necessary tools to succeed in American society.[7]

More recently, the focus of intervention has been on early childhood on the assumption that the child does not learn the necessary skills in his home to succeed in school. It is assumed that the youngster's home life, and specifically the mother-child interaction, is not conducive to the acquisition of cognitive and language skills (programs have rarely recognized Spanish as a legitimate language) for school success. This assumption persists in spite of the failure of Head Start and similar programs to have any noticeable effect on the school performance of so-called underprivileged youngsters. As a matter of fact, the interpretation made with regard to that "failure" was that the children came to them too late. Thus, programs were established to intervene at an earlier age.[8]

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[7] Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican American in the Social Sciences: 1912-1970, Part 1: 1912-1935," El Grito, (Spring 1970), pp. 3-24.

Clearly these programs based on the explicit theory of cultural determinism and the implicit theory of genetic determinism are committed to the virtual annihilation of the Chicano way of life without providing any evidence of any noticeable improvement, material or otherwise. These programs, however, do serve to alienate the Chicano child from his family and his group, and also serve to confuse him because he is unable to critically evaluate the contradictions in his situation. The acculturation of the Chicano youngster into a society that has never had respect for differences leaves him confused and totally unable to critically evaluate his situation.

At this point it should be explained that I am not naively pretending that social science has any direct impact on the structure and administration of these programs. It, like other forms of communication, operates within the context of and in accordance with the broader values of the dominant society. It does, however, legitimize the perspectives of certain ideologies.

It is important to note that the perspective provided in these programs has not only been external and foreign to the Chicano experience but has also been unilateral technological process oriented, thus reducing the Chicano himself to an object of this technology. Thus, the Chicano perspective is essential to provide alternatives to and, in fact, protection against the continual attempt of American institutions to socialize Chicano children to all levels of their development. The assumption is always that their way is superior to ours. At the same time it insures the maintenance of a dominant-submissive relationship which is socially, economically, and psychologically advantageous to the dominant society.

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[8] Steven S. Baratz and Joan C. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism" Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, Winter, 1970 pp. 3-24.

Alternative Research Strategies

The research approaches traditionally used to seek understanding about ethnic minorities and their communities have been subject to numerous attacks not only from minority scholars such as Kenneth Clark, Sylvia Belton Hill, and Octavio Romano, but by non-minority researchers such as Robert Blauner and Charles Valentine who believe that traditional methods simply do not capture the essence of minority communities. David Matza, although not addressing himself specifically to minorities, nevertheless makes some cogent remarks about research on deviancy which has striking similarities in its orientation to much of the research on minorities. It is activists, however, who have most vehemently objected to research activity within ethnic communities. "We know what the problems are; now let's get on with it" and "We have been studied to death and nothing ever comes of it" are popular objections leveled against researchers. Although many take the rhetoric of the activists lightly, the issues implicit in their challenges should raise some profound and troubling questions for social researchers. For example: what role, if any, does research have in ethnic communities of color? Is any of the research conducted in ethnic communities or on ethnic people helpful to the people? How?

With this as background, I would like to review several alternative strategies that have either been utilized in ethnic communities or that seem helpful in understanding the dynamics within ethnic communities.

Kenneth Clark's Dark Ghetto describes and interprets"...what happens to human beings who are confined to depressed areas and whose access to the normal channels of economic mobility and opportunity is blocked.[9] In presenting the data regarding crime, deteriorated housing, low school performance, and numerous other realities so characteristic of ghetto life, Clark attempts to find the "truth" hidden behind the data, a truth that views the realities of the ghetto in the context of larger society. He does not hide his subjectivity but squarely confronts the impact of forces that bias his view of the ghetto. He lived there for 40 years and the mysterious "pull" of his past life is reflected in his handling of the data.[10]

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[9] Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (Harper & Row, Pub., Inc., New York, N. Y., 1969).

Valentine criticizes Clark's work for focusing on the Blacks' problems and deviations from the larger society and, although Clark is emphatic, Valentine proposes on ethnographic approach toward the Black community. He believes that because studies have focused on the pathology of the ghetto, they have failed to understand some important aspects of life in the Black community. His ethnographic studies seek to examine current cultural patterns among the poor, investigate the nature of cultural change among the poor, enhance the knowledge of minority groups relative to the larger society, and provide quality information for the great mass of people.[11]

To Valentine, the key to obtaining valid data lies in active participation in the form of interviews and group meetings, performance in the affairs of the community (services and proposal writing), and honesty with respondents about the intent of the study. Thus far, Valentine (and his wife who is Black) have found that community patterns in the ghetto do not correspond to the findings of the literature. For example, contrary to "culture of poverty" theorists, they find a great amount of community participation in various institutions such as government and welfare agencies, clinics, hospitals, mass media, and churches. Furthermore, they have found a great deal of overlap in the aspirations of ghetto residents with those of the dominant community. For instance, both see education as the key to a successful life; both want adequate health care and both think the police should exist not to harass individuals, but to serve and protect the community. These ideals persist in spite of some obvious contradictions.[12] For example, there is a tremendous disparity of resources in services like sanitation and education between the ghetto and the dominant society. Furthermore, while the dominant society residents have control over their lives, the ghetto is glutted with controlling agencies such as police, welfare, and financial agencies serving to perpetuate the existing status quo. It should be emphasized that these agencies are usually externally controlled.[13]

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 141.

Valentine is not unaware of the potential pitfalls inherent in the ethnographic approach. Precisely because ethnography focuses on the internal characteristics of the "ghetto", Valentine cautions the researchers to guard against excluding the external forces that originate from the outside community. This built-in bias may lead the researcher to attribute certain characteristics to individuals in the ghetto that may also be prevalent in non-ghetto communities. These biases may lead researchers to construct models exclusively from lower class data, thus confounding Blacks with poor people generally.[14]

David Matza has contributed much to our understanding of deviant behavior, and since much of the research labels ethnic minorities as deviant, Matza's comments on researching so-called deviants are particularly important. The central idea of Matza's argument is that the researcher should remain true to the phenomenon under study rather than to a philosophical preconception or to a concept. The researcher "must choose the subjective view...and...combine the scientific method with the distinctive tools of humanism...experience, intuition, and empathy.[15] Matza agrees with Valentine that the best way to understand social phenomenon is by "first hand contact", by stressing diversity and by incorporating an appreciative posture. The aim is "to comprehend and to illuminate the subject's view and to interpret the world as it appears to him".[16] The researcher, however, must avoid romanticism since by distorting the essence of the phenomenon, it can lead to a corrective posture.[17]

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

The appreciative posture demands intuition, cogent argument, evidence, and a detached familiarity with the phenomenon. The integrity of the subject, according to Matza, can be maintained primarily from an "interior" rather than from an "exterior" view since the latter often fails to interpret the subject's viewpoint. A crucial element in the naturalist approach is the search for "a characteristic or essential feature" of the phenomenon requiring selective choosing from the "factual world".[18] This factual world reveals complexity instead of simplicity and identifies the overlap between the "deviant" and conventional world.[19]

Sylvia Belton Hill finds little justification for Valentine or anyone else's proposal for investigating ethnic communities of color. The evidence, according to Hill, does not support Valentine's (or anyone else's) contentions about ethnography. Investigating subjects in their natural environment has not prevented researchers from labeling minorities as pathological. Much of the social science literature on Mexican Americans supports Hill's contention. That is, that according to many social scientists, Chicanos are creators and perpetuators of their own problems.[20] The most notable examples of an ethnographic approach utilizing a pathological perspective can be found in the works of Madsen, Rubel, and Clark,[21] among others.

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[15] David Matza, Becoming Deviant, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969 p. 8.

[16] Ibid, p. 25.

[17] Ibid, p. 43.

[18] Ibid, p. 27

[19] Ibid, pp. 67-68

[20] Octavio I. Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American History" El Grito, 2, (Fall 1968), pp. 13-26. Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican American in the Social Sciences: (1912-1970, Part 1: 1912-1935", El Grito, (Spring 1970), pp. 3-24.

Robert Blauner, another Berkeley sociologist, believes that the problem with research on ethnic minorities of color is that the problems and needs of the community are rarely the starting point for theory and research. Minorities, according to Blauner, have been studied and interpreted by individuals from the dominant group in terms of theories and perspectives that are foreign to the culture and life experiences of what he calls the colonized minorities (ethnic minorities of color, i.e., Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans). The control exerted by professional researchers over the theories, interests, and the concepts employed has led not only to the loss of the autonomy of minorities but of their history as well.[22] The data collection process, whether it be interviewing or the administration of questionnaires or participant observation, is all done for the advantage of the researcher, according to Blauner. The subject rarely is made aware of the purpose or intent of the study and the interview process is a one-way thing with the interviewer providing nothing in return. This is done to preserve the "neutrality" of the investigation.[23]

Blauner's answer to this situation is the "decolonization of research". He proposes a set of procedures designed to involve the subjects in all phases of the research enterprise: First, meaningful involvement of grass-roots people in formulating and reformulating the basic assumptions and concepts of the investigation. The idea is that the grass-roots people are the "real experts" of the community under study; second, an honest explanation to the people regarding the purpose of the study and its possible effects on the people and the community; third, different approaches to the people under study such as unstructured and spontaneous interviews focusing on life histories in relation to the major institutions affecting their lives; and finally, payment to respondents for their time in providing information.[24]

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[21] William Madsen, The Mexican Americans of South Texas (New York: Hold, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 19640; Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks, (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press) 1966, p. 81; Margaret Clark, Health in the Mexican American Culture: A Community Study (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 238.

[22] Robert Blauner and David Wallman, "Towards the Decolonization of White Research", in the Death of White Sociology and Blacks, edited by Joyce A. Ladner, (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 310-330.

[23] Ibid.

The increasing difficulty that people in the dominant society are experiencing in ethnic communities has automatically led to the involvement of community people in the research enterprise. It is, however, another form of exploitation since this involvement is just a necessary step in collecting the data that leads to the same traditional theoretical orientations.

Blauner documents the difficulty interviewers have had in getting interviews, particularly from the Chicano community. My experience does not support his view. I was in charge of an interviewing team composed of Anglo, Chicano, and Black interviewers where we collected over 500 interviews from Anglo, Black, and Chicano adolescents with less than a one percent rejection rate. This, incidentally, was a study that utilized a person-focused orientation that attempted to explain failure in terms of people's deficiencies and where neither the intent of the study nor its consequences was made clear to the participants. The point that I want to stress is that in terms of people's deficiencies and where neither the intent of the study nor its consequences was made clear to the participants. The point that I want to stress is that involvement of grass-roots people, whether in research or model cities programs, can lead and has led to the participants' own alienation. Blauner reminds us that social scientists played an important role in maintaining the colonial system by providing information about the inhabitants such as social structure and statistical reports that helped the colonist to rule more effectively without resorting to force. A similar, although less obvious, situation exists in ethnic communities of color in the United States.

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[24] Ibid.

For the reasons cited above, I will discuss a research perspective advanced by Sylvia Belton Hill. Her basic premise regarding low income and third world communities is that "there is no way that we can possibly talk about negotiations and reciprocity for something that is essentially non-negotiable on any defensible grounds and unreciprocal in any meaningful context". Thus, Hill argues that in studying the victim social scientists have become one of the great victimizers of the poor.[25]

In refusing to study the victim, Hill is left with only one alternative, i.e., studying the victimizer or, more specifically, the victimizing process. Essentially, this means looking specifically at systemic questions such as: Why does performance of low income youngsters get progressively worse the longer they stay in school and what are teachers doing?[26] The list of questions such as these is endless.

In addition, the works of Atencio, Romano, and Galarza are of particular importance to me because these scholars address themselves to the research issues in the Chicano community which is the focus of most of my research.

Atencio argues that research should focus on "the oppressive colonial aspects that created the conditions in our community". One oppressive situation Atencio identifies within the medical profession is homeopathic medicine "that causes the illness it is supposed to cure". Atencio stresses the need for research to critically examine "delivery systems that often act as weapons and not as sources of cure". From this, he questions whether the systems that have been part of the problem can be part of the cure. Thus, according to Atencio, our diagnostic problems and Chicano life styles can be most effectively analyzed through independent research rather than through intermediary groups.[27]

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[25] Sylvia Belton Hill, "Research and Reciprocity" (approximate title), unpublished manuscript, (1971).

[26] Ibid.

Octavio Romano, editor of the influential Chicano journal, *El Grito*, alludes to the incongruency between the diagnostic categories used by the mental health establishment and the Chicano community. Words like "deviant," "irrational," "dysfunctional," and "neurotic," he states, are not part of the *barrio* lexicon. The difference between the technical terms and those used in the *barrio* is that technical terms like "dysfunctional," "irrational," and "pathological" are separating terms. "By a word or label you separate them out. But the counterparts in the *barrio* are not separating terms; they are descriptive terms through which a whole series of incorporating mechanisms take place...you don't have a duality--rational/irrational, functional/dysfunctional".[28]

Galarza believes that Chicanos should engage in "functional" research--a type of research that studies "the realities of (the Chicano) existence". One issue that emerges from the literature regarding the Chicano community is that the institutions have not served it well. This led Galarza to suggest that the Chicano should study "institutional deviancy". He defines institutional deviancy as "the tendency of an institution to depart from its moral commitment, from its statutory commitment, and from all those things it was set up to do."[29]

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[27] Tomas Atencio, "Mental Health and the Spanish-Speaking", in *Mental Health Planning Conference for the Spanish-Speaking: Proceedings*, Jan. 11-12, 1972, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

[28] Octavio I. Romano, "The Impact of the Mental Health of Anglo Social Institutions Upon the Mexican American" in *Mexican American Mental Health Issues: Present Realities and Future Strategies*, edited by Stanley Boucher, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, papers from a conference, June 10-12, 1970.

The methodological issues raised by Atencio, Romano, and Galarza call for an appreciative theoretical framework and a historical view of the Chicano within the context of American Society.

TOWARD AN APPROPRIATE RESEARCH FOR ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

Man, according to Ortega y Gasset, generally does not live his genuine life but rather a life defined by other people in society.[30] Minorities in a sense have been forced to live someone else's experience. Knowledge about minorities, according to Atencio, must come only from the experiences and actions of minorities. He believes that Chicanos (as well as other minorities) "must turn this body of knowledge into an educational process of 'concientizacion' to develop a humanity--or better to rehumanize humanity."[31] The purpose of research in ethnic communities of color should be to assist people to live their own lives. Minorities need to understand themselves, not in comparison to anyone else, but within their own perspective. Research thus should assist in developing a minority perspective. This means that the research enterprise for ethnic minorities must be a liberating process since this ethnic perspective has been continuously denied in this society. No other purpose can or should be justified for research in ethnic communities of color.

This, however, is easier said than done. I would briefly like to review some of my research activities that have attempted to incorporate the ideas and strategies discussed by those who have been interested in utilizing research as a liberating tool.

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[29] Ernesto Galarza, "Institutional Deviancy: The Mexican American Experience", in Mexican American Mental Health Issues, June 1970.

[30] Ortego Y. Gasset, Man and People, (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1957).

[31] Tomas Atencio, "Mental Health and the Spanish-Speaking", in Mental Health Planning Conference for the Spanish-Speaking: Proceedings, Jan. 11-12, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

The first study deals with a student project, the purpose of which was to investigate the interaction among Anglo teachers, Chicano and Anglo students, and Chicano parents and which approximated the type of research that asks questions about how Anglo teachers interact with minority students and parents. It was an attempt to study whether teachers, in fact, serve in the best interests of minority youngsters or whether they contribute to the victimizing process. We attempted to interview teachers to determine if they had different expectations of Latino and Anglo students and whether Anglo teachers responded differently to Anglo as opposed to Chicano interviewers. The methodological problems aside, we quickly found how difficult it is to get cooperation from school administrators and teachers on research questions that deal with teacher perceptions of minority youngsters. This is particularly true when those involved in the research enterprise are minorities and thus different from the Anglo teachers. This is especially the case with studies that lack funding and are conducted by people who are outside the established structure. For example, most of the teachers at one particular school completely sabotaged the study even though "permission" had been granted from the district administration and the school principal. This experience raises the question of how one obtains data, money, and technical help in conducting studies in settings where the purpose of the research may be to the disadvantage of the victimizing institution and its members.

In an altogether different investigation conducted for and sanctioned by a welfare department in California on the licensing of day care homes, Price and I proposed to the department that, in providing day care services to the low-income community, serious consideration be given to a pluralistic delivery of service to insure that low income people, particularly minorities, were provided with alternatives from which to choose. This was based on our impression that what the welfare department wanted to provide was not necessarily what the community needed or wanted. We proposed that subsidized family day care be made available to the community in addition to the day care centers the department was offering. We had found that a system of family day care was already operating in some *barrios* in the community and felt that any program of day care should help strengthen those existing systems. The idea we proposed was to have the welfare department divert some of the resources from day care centers directly to people already providing day care services. We further proposed that the licensing standards be developed directly with the participation of those who were providing the services. The role of the social worker in this situation was to provide technical assistance at the request of community people. Those social workers demonstrating ignorance of the community (including a language barrier) should be transferred or fired and replaced by community and professional people who would function effectively in this setting, we suggested.

Needless to say, we were labeled as "unethical radicals" who had failed to adhere to the mandate of the investigation which was to make suggestions on how the licensing unit could more effectively work with the minority community, primarily Chicanos. The idea that what was perhaps needed were different assumptions about the programs, including the possibility that what was available was dysfunctional, had not occurred to the workers. The assumption that a worker, merely because he or she is a professional, can work in minority communities needs to be more fully investigated even if it is threatening to professionals and institutions. It is obvious that research geared to the advantage of ethnic minorities must develop its own power base for it to be truly effective.

In an exploratory study on paint inhalation among Chicano barrio youth we address some of the issues discussed above. An appreciative and "internal" view of youngsters in the barrio and a critical analysis of the impact of institutions on barrio residents within a historical context are the central ideas that guide this research. Involving the subjects of the research in the analysis and interpretation of the data is the one element of this research that is unique compared to past attempts.

Our basic thesis is that paint inhalation among Chicano youth can best be understood within the context of their total environment, an environment that views the "barrio" as a social institution with its unique history and internal order and logic. Each society views the use of substances for mood alteration through its own perspective. It is through the cultural perspective of the Chicano community that we propose to study this phenomenon. Accordingly, an ethnographic approach that attempts to understand paint inhalation from the Chicano's cultural world while involving members of the community will lead us toward an appreciative understanding. Research that takes a pathological perspective has led only to focusing on the individual outside of his milieu as if he had no past or future--only the present. An ethnographic approach with significant input in the total research process, we hope, will avoid the distortions that have occured in the past.

We choose not to limit our attention to the numerous youngsters who have been identified as "paint sniffers" by authorities or by the underground system to which some of our research assistants have access. Instead we attempted to view these youngsters in the context of their environment--that is, the interaction of these youngsters with their immediate community (the barrio), the schools, the police department, the courts, the Welfare

Department, and numerous other institutions having influence on their lives. In essence, our attempt was to look at the barrio not as a pathological entity but as a social institution that has a significant number of problems. What does the barrio look like to those people who live and work in it? After all, it is only in the environment of the family and the community that we can reach an understanding of some of the dynamics involved in the use of inhalants.

Having established an ecological perspective in our procedure, our next task was to involve individuals who knew those communities in as many aspects of the research process as possible. In an effort to penetrate the world of the barrio, the research project, in a sense, had to expose itself to the barrio; the project had to be open for all to see. This required that some of the individuals we hired be part of that community, be committed to that community, and suffer with that community.

Accordingly, we employed individuals with the intellect and sensitivity necessary to describe and analyze life as seen by people in the barrio. This view, however, had to be a balanced view so that the research team included a wide range of individuals, including residents of the area, a person who had worked in the area for a number of years, an individual who had done some interviewing as a research assistant several years earlier, and an individual who had had no previous contact with the area. This balance, it was hoped, would provide an appreciative, yet realistic, view of the barrios.

A common band among all the individuals involved in the research was a common culture. All, except one who was Panamanian, were Mexicans born in the United States, and thus were able to more easily reflect an internal view of the lives of the residents, a view in which all of us shared a similar theoretical (institutional deviancy rather than individual pathology) and *affective* (an appreciative, internally consistent cultural view of of Chicano culture) orientation. This similarity included a knowledge of the language. It is through a common language that we most accurately reflect the feelings and culture of the people.

Because the field workers were committed, not to the project, but to the people, the field workers felt that the activities of the project needed an element of practicality. First, we had to respond to requests from the community, such as assisting families who were having problems with substance abuse, working with parents or children who were having difficulties with the school, and participating in a variety of workshops and seminars in the schools and colleges in the area. A second aspect of the research that was of practical value to the residents was our unique approach of involving members of the community in the analysis and interpretation of our work. In our weekly meetings, all the members of the research team, as well as interested individuals, participated in the analysis and interpretation of the data. One week the job was to review the history of a particular *barrio*; another week it was to look at the schools; still another week we looked at how youngsters spent their time. The weekly meetings primarily served to debrief the field worker about activities during the week and to monitor our performance by continually clarifying and refining our ideas about the project. We always encouraged the field workers to operate within the parameters (limits) of what they felt was appropriate. They were not given specific instructions on how to collect data. We knew we had to talk to residents--young and old, alone and in groups--but it was up to the field workers as to how those contacts were made or whom they contacted.

It was easy for some of our research assistants to go into the *barrio* to collect information because two had lived there all their lives and one had worked in a service agency for the last six years. They knew the people and the people knew and trusted them. One of the interviewers had previously run a youth project in the inner city and getting to kids was "easy" for him because his project had provided youngsters with jobs and had helped them when they had had problems in the community.

Our view of the barrio was developed in the context of its totality. We did our analysis in the context of the barrio's interdependent parts--for example, religion as it related to child-rearing and education as it related to the economy. This we did through a variety of means: First, through a historical approach by tracing the history of the barrio; second, through an analysis of existing demographic data--income, health indexes, household composition, etc.; third, through observation and dialogue with the people in the barrio. We utilized oral histories as a vehicle in understanding the development of the barrios and in attempting to understand the barrio environment; and finally, by engaging actual and potential paint sniffers in personal and group dialogues. The intent was to encourage these youngsters to analyze their situation in the context of their surroundings.

CONCLUSION

The study of ethnic minorities of color in the United States has been dominated by a theoretical model which defines them as sick. This externally controlled model has distorted their history and has forced them to live someone else's experience. Minorities must respond to the state of crisis that has been created by this confusion in an original and creative manner. The rewriting of their history and interpretation of their position in American society will demand new and innovative uses of social science research that liberates and unifies rather than domesticates and divides minority communities.

The works of Matza, Blauner, Clark, and Valentine are attempts to look at minority communities from within. Similarly Atencio, Romano, and Galarza outline some of the parameters of research in the Chicano community. The research frameworks that need to be developed should not seek justification for the dysfunctional institutions that have failed to serve minorities but rather should criticize and transform them. Involving the "subjects" of the research should be an integral part of the methodology.

It should be emphasized that the status of research on ethnic minorities of color did not result from a conspiracy among Anglo social scientists nor are the interpretations of the sick minority their exclusive property. Minorities--Black, Asian, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican--have all used theoretical frameworks and research procedures which blame the victim for his disadvantaged position.

The situation results from a common ideology shared by academics and from institutions that reward the social pathologists rather than the institutional critics. An intelligentsia that is dependent on institutions that reward such definitions can not be expected to criticize and transform. It can only follow not lead. Finally, scholars, in dealing with the issues of research in ethnic communities of color should be careful to separate the ideological issues from the methodological considerations. Confusing the two can only lead to problems.

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COMMENTARY

Clyde O. McDaniel, Jr.

Dr. Montiel indicates, quite aptly, that research in ethnic communities ignores the value systems of the ethnic communities. However, in accusing social scientists of conspiring to perpetuate institutionalized racism in their ethnic-community research endeavors, Dr. Montiel fails to extend his argument far enough to involve science (as a research strategy) in his criticisms in such a manner that alternatives can be deduced whose implementation do not depend on the personal preferences of the scientists. Actually, Dr. Montiel's paper addresses a situation which is quite different from institutionalized racism. It addresses one of the major paradigm crises in contemporary research methodology:[1] a stultifying, yet inevitable, incapacity on the part of contemporary social science to reflect the values of ethnic minorities, to yield results which explain how minority group members perceive and interact in their social environment, or to contribute to non-minority group members' understanding of the reality of minority group existence.

In fact, contemporary research methodology seems incapable of studying any cultural phenomena adequately. This allegation is based on the fact that, historically, the strategy was not designed to reflect the nature of social science (cultural) phenomena. For instance, when orthodoxy in scientific enterprise was established in the physical and biological sciences (i. e., long before the social sciences had passed beyond infancy), scientists became preoccupied with refining what was already considered as legitimate knowledge areas by establishing parameters around certain areas of knowledge and rigidifying the methods of exploration within those areas. While the process excluded social science as a knowledge area, it, nevertheless, established the basic paradigm for scientific enterprise.

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[1] Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Since paradigm-bound knowledge restricts the problems which can be investigated and the methods which can be used to solve them, new approaches with different visions of reality usually emerge to challenge the old orthodoxy. Social science emerged as a new approach. However, the orthodox scientific paradigm was not all that responsive to the new approach, for there seemed to be forces like the selective-exposure tendency, which greatly affected the thoughts and attitudes which scientists had (and still have) about the legitimacy of methods and areas of study. For social science, these forces pose problems, at least, at two levels: theoretical and technical.

At the level of theory, orthodoxy considers explanation as a highly-prized goal, and linear, probabilistic, deductive logic serves as the model for explanation. This means that explanations must assume temporal causal sequences in events and speak of modal tendencies rather than particulars. Everything which departs from modal tendencies is considered as deviant and/or irrevelant. The nomological deductive framework requires that general concepts and laws be used as basic premises for which particular events are specific instances. These general concepts and laws must have relevance across time and space, such that the particulars are subsumable under them. Given this frame of reference, it is impossible for a particular proposition whose predicates are modal tendencies to specify the large number of sub-group variations in perceptions, perspectives or behavior patterns. Only those perceptions, perspectives, or behavior patterns which conform to modal tendencies receive recognition in particular propositions. Obviously, minority group perceptions, perspectives or behavior patterns do not conform to modal tendencies, so they do not receive recognition.

To some extent, as Easton has pointed out, the problem is an epistemological one which directs the attention of social science to concerns which are quite irrelevant to the major problems confronting the survival of "deviant" minority groups.[2] Blindness or myopia which is born of limited metatheory translates into faulty theory,[3] especially since theory presents itself as words and the rules for relating the words, the meanings of which depend upon stipulations and agreements among individuals who share the common language.[4] Given that social science, in an attempt to attain scientific legitimacy, has projected itself as an endeavor which embodies the hypothesis-theory-testing-conclusion model, it espouses a monistic reductionistic and physicalistic orientation. Howard feels that in social science theory:

> Knowledge is largely isolated from reality, studied mainly through synatactical investigations by an abstract observational language which aims to reduce all knowledge to *a priorily* derived categories via the methods of physics. This logical-empiricism...turns out as disinterested in solving human problems. Any question asked is replaced by a logical question and the puzzle solving activities that follow become the end.[5]

In this instance, theory-construction is minimized, and the social environment is viewed as a laboratory for theory-testing or concept validation. With reality projected as something out there that can be categorized and that is consistent with logic, the purpose of information gathering, implicitly, becomes intervention-to-control. When scientists come to have a monopoly of information, what is offered as the scientific way easily translates into the right to seek any and all information to paint a portrait of society which can be explained by legitimate concepts and theories.

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[2] David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science", *American Political Science Review*, 62, 4, December, 1969.

[3] Yehezkel Dror, *Ventures in Policy Science, Concept and Application*,(New York: Elsvier, 1971).

[4] Vincent Ostram, *The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration*, (University of Alabama Press, 1973).

[5] Lawrence Howard, "Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Health Services, "*Public Administration Review*, Special Issue, October, 1972.

At the technical level these forces (a limited causal view of the world, a goal of theory-testing, and a projection of logic as the justification for research questions) tend to converge to form a technology which can only misrepresent the reality of minority group existence. However, as minority group members know, researchers come armed with arguments supporting the 'rightness' of their studies even though minority group members are insistent upon the need for a deeper understanding of their life styles to be considered and an opportunity to--at least in part--participate in posing research questions, and in gathering, analyzing, and interpreting the data. Conflict is inevitable, for from the perspective of conventional social science research, people empowerment is both illogical and illegitimate. With scientists in charge, questions of accountability and the legitimacy of paradigm are irrepressible.

The foregoing leads to the conclusion that three of the most crucial tasks facing social science research today are: (1) to derive a research paradigm (with appropriate technology) which focuses on human behavior (especially human problems) and one which does not distinguish between basic and applied research, (2) to conduct sound, meaningful research vis-a-vis the paradigm, and (3) to translate the results of the research into practical solutions to social problems.

While general effort should be exerted to cover all three of the task-areas, it, particularly, should cover numbers 1 and 2. In fact, since behavior is adaptive, and any attempt to study problematic behavior per se merely focuses on symptoms, most of social science research should be devoted to assessing the social correlates of behavior vis-a-vis meticulously deduced paradigms. An appropriate strategy would be to study the problematic behavior itself descriptively, in its own context--without a priori hypotheses--in an attempt to *discover*, not deduce, the correlates, specifically, those which are alterable. This presupposes a modified anthropoligical approach to data gathering and a descriptive statistical approach to data analysis. The adoption of such an approach would generate *specific* empirical knowledge bases which are space and time bound, which are obligatory in their requisites, and which are self-propelling.

A realistic, practical research paradigm of this sort should include, at a bare minimum, no basic assumptions about the group of social entities being studied, but a commitment to generate an ethynemic theory of the group's social behavior (an ethynemic theory is one which does not use generalizable concepts for explanatory purposes; it merely includes principles for assessing relationships among descriptive variables, and a statistical mapping of the relationships among the variables).[6] The paradigm would: (1) allow the variables within the system to explain each other with the ultimate goal of the researcher being to develop a tautology; (2) allow relationships to be simultaneous rather than linear and/or causal; (3) make it possible for the variables to be expressed in everyday rather than theoretical language; and (4) require the involvement of the subjects of study to participate in every phase of the study especially the conceptualization and interpretation phases. Consequently, recommendations for solutions to social problems can be pragmatic and direct.

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[6] M. White, *Foundations of Historical Knowledge* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965) pp. 57-59.

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COMMENTARY

P. R. Balgopal, D.S.W.

I can appreciate Dr. Montiel's discomfort and need to change the original title for his presentation "Research Issues in a Third World Perspective". When I was asked to comment on his paper, my immediate reaction was "Third World" according to whom, that is, along what parameters is the notion of Third World defined? Although this is a frequently used term, by and large this categorization is primarily determined by economic factors. The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are less technologically developed are "lumped" into the category of the "Third World". Often such categoriaation minimizes, and even negates, the rich *cultural* and *social* heritage of this peoples and their nations. Categorizing tends to generalize, over-simplify, and overlook diversity among peoples of different ethnicity and culture. Although I am an American citizen, I was born on the other side of the globe and to emphasize the cultural diversity among ethnics of color I was tempted to make my comments on Dr. Montiel's paper in my native tongue, Hindi. However, as the original title has been changed, I will make my comments on this scholarly paper in English, colored by my Hindi accent.

Dr. Montiel presents a timely and appropriate criticism, that is, that research endeavors among minority of color communities are dominated by a "corrective" posture inherent in the medical model. He cites David Metsa's work to support the argument as to who, why and how one gets labeled a "deviant". In reality, it is the dominant society's norms that determines deviancy reflecting its inability to tolerate varied behavior. It has become customary to criticize the general acceptance of the corrective approach, often not substantiated or justified. One has to be cautious not to fall into the same pitfall as those who critized the psychonalytic theory that has become the "straw theory" of personality theorists.

It has to be repeatedly stressed that all ethnic communities of color have their own unique institutions through which their members collectively, and individually, cope with environmental conditions and pressures placed on them both internally and externally. Furthermore, these ethnic communities of color have one commanality, that of centuries of victimization and oppression by the white members of the world. All have their own unique history of struggle that includes efforts to preserve their social and cultural heritage and institutions. It needs to be recognized that research undertaken within ethnic communities of color without espousing the principle of cultural pluralism will be not only a biased one, but it will also support the principle of cultural singularism.

There is sufficient empirical data to suggest that economic and class factors are paramount in the determination of attitudes, behaviors, status and access to power, and that these factors are reflected in present day American society. Most economic analyses fail to explore the interface between class and culture. Cultural pluralism is often perceived in terms of exotic recipes and costumes rather than diverse traditions, values, thoughts, and aspirations. Current practices continue to ignore the efforts of specific ethnic and cultural groups to have access to political power and protection of their civil rights.

Every researcher concerned with ethnic minorities of color must support the concept of cultural pluralism. William Greenbaum[1] emphasizes that:

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[1] William Greenbaum "America in Search of a New Ideal: An Essay on the Rise of Pluralism", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 44 No. 3, August 1974, pp. 411-440.

1) Support for positive bi-cultural and multi-cultural identities will encourage not only renewed respect for this country but also encourage the development of true universalism in which the merits and faults of different belief systems can be more intelligently assessed because the individual and the group deeply understand more than one culture--"their own". 2) There is the paramount human need for self consciousness and self awareness, and by taking responsibilities for one's own institutions and communities the different ethnic groups can preserve those and use them for the benefit of its members. In this context the dominant groups acceptance of cultural pluralism is essential and not half-hearted tokenism. 3) Recognition of the failure of Anglo-American practices to reduce great inequities that affect the self-respect and to prevent meaningful pursuits for many who are not economically well off, supports the ideals of cultural pluralism. 4) Pluralism can offset the poverty of cosmopolitanism and antagonistic individualism. Supporters of pluralistic groups emphasize the human interdependence between individuals, families, co-workers, groups and communities. These groups vehemently seek to alter the roles of the economy, science, technology, and government so that they will serve people rather than dominate them. 5) Finally pluralism must be accepted because for many Americans irrevocable cultural and linguistic diversity already exists and provides firm foundations for strong institutions, human service delivery systems, and respectable communities in which to live.

Dr. Montiel has suggested that research pertaining to ethnic minorities of color is controlled by the dominant group, that there is continued victimization and colonization and he stresses a need for decolonization of research along an ethnographic research design as postulated by Valentine. I cannot agree more with his position. But, here again it needs to be recognized that ethnic minorities of color in addition to being subjugated to economic and political imperialism are susceptible to academic imperialism. Even the well intentioned researcher, who incorporates ethnographic strategies as suggested in order to avoid the danger of academic imperialism, will have to be very cautious in measuring the relevancy and appropriateness of such research endeavors. Researchers will have to be aware of their own motivation for their work and further whether it is strategically sound for their own personal advantage in the academic arena which often operates through a publish or perish framework. If this is so, then such work becomes exploitation of ethnic minorities. Lastly the researcher, especially social and behavioral science researchers, will have to give careful attention, prior, during, and after their study, to what are the "pay-offs" of their work for the members of ethnic minority communities of color, i.e., what new services can be developed based on the new found knowledge within these communities to eliminate their long experienced victimization and oppression.

SOCIAL WORK IN A MULTIETHNIC SOCIETY

Barbara Bryant Solomon*

The observation that this nation is a multiethnic society is neither new nor startling. However, the possibility that the diverse races and ethnic groups contained within it will be able to coexist in a climate of political harmony and social justice is becoming more and more questionable. Principles derived from democratic concepts have proved difficult at best to put into practice. Apparently, practice involves operational definitions of these concepts and such definitions are often controversial. For example, there is little argument or debate over the importance of "equality of opportunity" for everyone in a just society. However, for some equality of opportunity may mean non-discrimination while for others equality of opportunity is meaningless without affirmative action and for still others equality of opportunity includes preferential treatment for those denied such opportunity in the past. Apparently, consensus can be achieved only at the higher levels of abstraction.

It has been suggested that the problem is merely one of definition. If we could only agree on definition of our problems, then the identification of effective and appropriate strategies for solving them would be easy. Yet, this casts the difficulty solely at the intellectual level and ignores the emotional. In social work we have known for a long time that a chasm often exists between intellectual understanding or acceptance of a principle and the actual emotional acceptance which more clearly guides our actions. Our struggles to accept people who are different in some ways from ourselves reflect quite frequently the schism between intellect and emotion. Despite the social work profession's love affair with psychodynamic theory and its emphasis on the significance of unconscious processes in human behavior, it was the momentum provided by civil rights movement of the sixties, which uncovered the extent to which social work education and practice did not reflect principles of racial equality and social justice at the operational level where it counts.

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Initial efforts to remedy this in Schools of Social Work took the form of recruitment programs to encourage more minority applicants. There were dramatic changes in the racial distribution of some schools and "qualified" minority students appeared in places where an eyeblink before there had been none. However, climbing minority enrollment did not turn out to be a solution to the problem of racism and cultural myopia in Schools of Social Work; in fact if anything it made possible the discovery of the true extent of these problems; for the entry of large numbers of minority students meant that theories of human behavior or practice that contradicted significant aspects of their experience could be identified and documented; in contrast when there was a single or even a few minority students in a large student body, there was more likelihood that they could be convinced by the pressure of majority and "expert" opinion that their own perceptions were invalid. With larger numbers of minority students, however, the critical mass was present to make possible confrontation and demand for the consideration of the missing perspectives.

The attention of faculty and students broadened from recruitment or minority students to the curriculum and the need to integrate content more relevant for understanding the lifestyles and characteristic problems encountered in minority populations (who in fact make up a sizeable proportion of social work clientele.) What had not been reckoned with, however, was the fact that the civil rights movement of the sixties represented a cultural prison break for other ethnic populations in this country who before that time had been reluctant to identify themselves as Polish and Irish, or American or Italian. The proponents of the melting pot theory could be terribly cruel to ethnics who would not melt. However, the potent force for change loosened by the cries of "Black is beautiful!" swelled to include not only other traditional white ethnic minorities as well as those too pressed for consideration of their unique cultures. As if this weren't enough, other populations which felt both disadvantaged and special have also demanded attention--thus, the women's movement and the gay liberation movement have pressed for their perspective to be included in curricula.

It is obviously impossible to try to implement a curriculum model which would place "special" content for each minority--racial, cultural, sexual or other, etc.--in all parts of the curriculum--i.e., special courses, in workshops, in special institutes, and in regular courses. Clearly, the result would be a Master's program stretching interminably. My own experience in teaching a "special" course on "Social Work Practice in Black Communities" has led me to believe that it is now possible to move beyond the fragmented view of society for, as a matter of fact, we do not exist in total isolation from each other and our knowledge base must take that into account. Integration of minority or ethnic content in the curriculum should mean just that; the incorporation of minority perspectives into theories of practice including the theories of human behavior which illuminate it. At this point in time, there appear to be two core concepts which can serve as the basis for an overall theory of practice which is inclusive of all minorities. I would like briefly to outline these two concepts and to suggest their implications for social work practice.

The Ethnosystem

This society has always been structured by minority ethnic groups. In fact, it can very well be defined as an "ethnosystem" comprising smaller groups or collectivities of individuals whose ethnicity serves to define them and their relationship to the whole--either by self-determination or by determination of others.[1] The behavioral science literature has, for the most part, ignored this basic characteristic of our social structure and has described its basic social processes as if emanating from a single ethnic perspective--the Anglo perspective--in regard to social, cultural, and historical reality. The position taken here is that this has never been completely true and therefore the dynamics of behavior in and between ethnic groups in the United States is not supplemental but integral and fundamental for understanding literally hundreds of different kinds of normal and problem-producing behavior encountered in American life.

Of particular concern has been the "modal" behavior patterns of racial or ethnic groups although recognizing that in all groups there is considerable variation. A major source of the variation, however, is the ethnosystem itself since individual members of ethnic groups are simultaneously members of the ethnosystem and subject to its influence. The extent to which behavior of individual members correspond to the modal pattern for the group will depend upon the strength exerted by other parts of the ethnosystem or by the ethnosystem as a whole. This does not mean, however, the same thing as strength of the influence of "Anglo culture." It has been generally assumed that the ethnic group member who moves away from the modal behavior and value patterns of his own group moves toward and incorporates those of the Anglo group. This assumption fails to take into consideration the true nature of the ethnosystem. In such a system, Blacks and Chicanos living in close proximity may each incorporate some of the behavior and value patterns of the other, i.e., moving away from the modal patterns of their respective groups but not toward the Anglo group.

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[1] Solomon, Barbara, Black Empowerment: Theory and Practice of Social Work in Black Communities, in press.

Statistically, the "mode" of a frequency distribution is that value which occurs most frequently. Thus modal behavior or value patterns in a given ethnic group would be those which occur most often. However, some distributions are "bimodal" or even "trimodal" as there are two or three values which occur "most frequently." Thus, in the case of ethnic behavior patterns, more than one modal description may be necessary.

The dilemma of having to crystallize a general theme out of behavior patterns which do vary is very effectively described by Murillo:

> "The reality is that there is no Mexican-American family "type". Instead there are literally thousands of Mexican-American families, all differing significantly from one another along a variety of dimensions. There are significant regional, historical, political, socioeconomic, acculturation, and assimilation factors, for example, which result in a multitude of family patterns of living and of coping with each other and with their Anglo environment...On the one hand there is the desire to present an accurate view of Mexican-American families, about which one cannot in reality generalize because of the many significant differences among them. On the other hand is the necessity based partly on practicality to present a somewhat traditional cultural view of the Mexican-American family...it is important to make clear that there are other relevant variables such as hierarchy of individual needs, developmental and maturational factors, and personality factors which enter into and frequently overshadow the more general social-cultural values."[2]

The statements made by Murillo in regard to the Mexican-American family could just as easily have been made by about any of the ethnic groups which make up the American ethnosystem.

The most important characteristic of the ethnosystem concept is its emphasis on the interrelatedness of groups in society. Much has been said of the isolation and physical isolation does exist. However, this physical isolation often obscures the fact that there are forces which transcend the individual or even the group and affect us all. It may have a different appearance when it emerges in different places in the ethnosystem, e.g., social class is a total system concept; however, the Black middle class, the Chicano middle class, the Jewish middle class would never be mistaken as culturally identical--their clothes, the books they read, etc., may be the same but the primary group activities which represent the true channels of transmitting culture--family rituals, informal group associations, etc., rarely overlap.

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[2] Murillo, Nathan, "The Mexican-American Family," in Nathaniel Wagner and Marsha Haug (eds.), Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1971), p. 97.

The "economy" is another total system concept and we tend to look at various aspects of its operations differently in different parts of the ethnosystem. When we are considering the poor--who are disproportionately Black and Brown--we tend to characterize them by their need for governmental support. Therefore, they are a drain on the taxpaying classes. However, if we take the broader systems approach and look at where government subsidies go, we get a very different view of exactly who the government supports most. Let us take the frequently encountered example of the welfare mother who gets an addition to her welfare grant when she has another child. In fact, she may receive as little as $20 per month for an additional child or $240 a year. On the other hand, a person who earns $50,000 a year who is in the 50% tax bracket will avoid over $350 a year in taxes with an extra child. No one accuses the middle class person of having another child merely to gain $350; primarily because, there are many other options available to him in the tax laws that indeed the $350 is peanuts compared to other amounts he may avoid paying. Thus, the concept of ethnosystem emphasizes the interrelatedness of that behavior of the total system may be expressed differently in the ethnic subsystem in which it emerged. It suggests that the whole is more than the sum of its parts; or it is the sum of its parts plus. The "plus" refers to structures or processes which are generated by interaction of the ethnosystem's component parts but transcends all. This dynamic relationship between the parts and the whole make traditional concepts of "integration," "assimilation," and even "cultural pluralism" inadequate and sterile.

Empowerment

The "Black is Beautiful" theme was the signal for uplifting ethnic identity to the level of respectability and beyond that to a level of pride and acceptance. On the other hand the demand for "Black Power" was perceived as full of menace and destructiveness and reverse racism. Yet, it may very well be that the emphasis on "Black Power" as a strategy to combat the negative valuation placed on Blacks by the larger social system was as much a signal for oppressed and therefore powerless people as was "Black is Beautiful" for devalued people. The theme of powerlessness, as a matter of fact, is not only observable in minority racial groups but also in the relationships between the level society and poor, women, etc. Powerlessness arises out of a process through which individuals or groups are denied valued identities and roles on the one hand and valuable resources on the other. The net result is inability to exercise interpersonal influence or command the social resources necessary for effective social functioning.

The most important point to be made here, however, is that although powerlessness to deal with the social environment so as to wrest from it a reasonable amount of personal gratification is a pervasive element in the lives of minority group members in this country, it is also an element in the lives of those majority group members whose life circumstances have unfortunately dealt them those assaults on self-image, those problematical interpersonal relationships and those deficiencies in material resources which more often characterize the life experience of the traditional minorities in the ethnosystem. Thus, powerlessness becomes the underlying problem with which social work must deal. The goal of social work as well as its process may be perceived then as empowerment or helping people to gain the power--personal, interpersonal or technical--necessary to achieve a level of social functioning which is both personally and socially rewarding.

Empowerment is a transcendent concept, born out of the struggle to conceptualize the minority group experience but having the ability to encompass almost every instance in which individuals, groups or communities require assistance in their efforts to attain valued goals. Although it places the emphasis on a process which may be encountered more frequently in minority populations, it is certainly not exclusive to those populations. It makes it possible to recognize that not all minority persons are powerless and not all Whites are powerful.

The utilization of power as a core concept in social work practice provides both rich opportunity and possible risk. The opportunity is based on the fact that social science has studied intensively the concept of power as an aspect of interpersonal relations whether at the two-person, the small group or the larger social system levels. There is an ever-growing body of knowledge about the nature of power operations at all these levels which can serve as the source of specific strategies for increasing the power of traditionally powerless people.[3] Thus power dynamics may be a more important contribution to the scientific base of social work practice than the more conceptually limited psychodynamics. There is risk, however, in the fact that the current state of the social science knowledge about power and its dynamics is one of fragmentation, overlapping concepts, even contradictory propositions. Therefore, it is in critical need of clarification, if it is to serve as a knowledge base for practice. Yet, even in its primitive state, it promises far more adequate basis than we have had for integration of those concerns which have highest relevance for minority populations into a framework which serves to explain majority concerns as well.

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[3] See particularly, Kenneth Clark, The Pathos of Power. (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) William Gamson, Power and Discontent,(Homewood, Ill: The Dorsey Press, 1968);Wally Jacobsen, Power and Interpersonal Relations, (Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1972);Si Kahn, How People Get Power: Organizing Oppressed Communities for Action,(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970);William J. Wilson, Power, Racism, and Privilege,(New York: The MacMillan Co., 1973).

The recognition of power as centrifugal force in all of social work practice will inevitably modify some key elements of that practice. For example, our rather abstract objective of helping our clients to improve their social functioning comes into sharper focus when social functioning is seen as dependent upon power in interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, assessment of problem situations will emphasize power analyses as the major component of psychosocial diagnosis. This refers to the assessment of the nature and consequences of the psychological and social forces which have served to stigmatize individuals or groups. It requires that several important questions be asked and answered, e.g.:

> To what extent has the individual been able to make and implement the major decisions in his life such as where he must live, where he will work, etc.?
>
> If his control has been limited, who or what has wielded primary control over him?
>
> If control is maintained by others, how has it been justified and what are the mechanisms whereby it is maintained?
>
> What changes will be required if this control is to be gained or regained by the individual?
>
> How can these changes be achieved by the collaborative efforts of the social worker and the client or client system?

Social psychologists tell us that when the self is perceived as causally important, i.e., able to control life circumstances and bring about desired effects, the individual has hope and self-respect.[4] Stated more directly, power generates respect and guarantees access to opportunity. Restriction of opportunity not only blights hope, it excludes the person from a chance to acquire the knowledge and skill that would in turn enable him to surmount the barriers to social effectiveness. Absence of power leaves one vulnerable and dependent. When opportunities are offered without a sharing of power, we have paternalism which damages self-respect, reinforces dependence, and generates a gritty resentment and passive resistance that the powerful are likely to condemn as ingratitude.

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[4] Smith, M. Brewster, "Competence and Socialization" in John Clausin (ed.), Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968).

Political science has been the social science discipline that has been most intensely concerned with the issue of power distributions in social systems. Morgenthau has referred to political power as psychological control over the minds of men.[5] Ironically, those social work practitioners most interested in psychological change strategies in contrast to social reform strategies are usually disinterested in political processes or perceive them as worrisome obstacles rather than integral forces in the lives of every one of us. In essence, Morgenthau's statement suggests that political power is a consequence of psychological control and if those controls can be sloughed off, political power over oppressed peoples can be substantially reduced. It is an intriguing notion to say the least.

The two concepts which I have presented here in only the sketchiest detail appear to constitute the conceptual glue needed to bind together our fragmented ethnic content currently included in our knowledge base for practice. The conceptualization of society as an ethnosystem and of social work's goal as the empowerment of powerless people provides an opportunity to grant the separate agendas of ethnic subsystems the validity they deserve while at the same time recognizing their inescapable interrelationship. Moreover, this stage in social work practice and education may well be another transition point where progress already made opens up new needs and new goals. We have witnessed many such transitions in the recent history of our society. The fight against segregation laws was essentially won but did not eliminate discrimination. It was then perceived that laws specifically "outlawing" discrimination were needed so we wrote fair housing legislation and fair employment practices legislation. However, centuries of racism deeply embedded in our social institutions had created institutional rigidities as well as individual self-percepts so invidious that even this new type legislation has been relatively ineffective in pushing us closer to our goal of a just society. To complicate matters, minority groups have fought among themselves for the pitifully limited resources available for their control but a whole range of groups perceiving themselves as disadvantaged or oppressed have joined the clamor of protest and demand attention and support.

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[5] Hans Morgenthau, The Restoration of American Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) p. 11.

In this bicentennial year, the need is for a truly integrative spirit to prevail; for truly integrative concepts which permit us to perceive our similarities to others as well as our differences. The celebration of our 200th birthday comes at a time when the number "200" may have particular significance in regard to our future. Harvey Wheeler, when a fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, wrote an article for the Saturday Review of Literature entitled "The Rise of the Elders,".[6] In it, he suggested that the next major scientific breakthrough will be in biology rather than physics. Biologists are, in fact, periliously close to reducing synthetically an enzyme which is believed to control the aging process in the body. Although present in all of us at birth, sometime in the early twenties it begins to disappear from the body and the symptoms of physical aging begin. If it is produced synthetically so that it can be replaced in the body, it will not make us immortal but it may well extend the life span to nearly 200 years! It may well be that sometime in the 21st century, the stigmatized collectivities may not be based on racial or ethnic characteristics. The stigmatized may be those whose physical size renders them too costly to a society in which every inch of space is precious.

Social work practitioners almost by definition must be at the cutting edge of social change. Even now as those of you who are making the transition from student to certified, credentialed professional, even now as we struggle to achieve integration of ethnic concerns into our knowledge base for practice, we must be keenly aware of forces abroad in the total ethnosystem and must prepare for new visions on the horizon. The challenge to social work is enormous and so to all who seek those challenges, you couldn't have come at a better time.

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[6] Harvey Wheeler, "The Rise of The Elders," Saturday Review of Literature, January, 1973.

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